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SOUTHERN SLAVERY.

We append a few select incidents of slave-life as it is in the Southern States of the American Union, extracted from the letter of a correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, in reply to a complaint which appeared in that journal of the 15th August ultimo, from Judge O'Neill of South Carolina, setting forth that Mrs. Stowe had made grave mistakes in the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, with regard to the negro laws of South Carolina. In his "complaint," the Judge alleges that "generally, slaves at the South are treated with more kindness, have more comforts and more money of their own than the free servants at the North;" and he invites those who doubt what he asserts, "to come and see, and judge for themselves." One of the sceptics of the Northern States, who had not time to "go and see," did what was next best—though not doubting the evidence on which the allegations in the *Key* were founded—that is, wrote to a friend in one of the Southern States, soliciting information, derived from ocular experience. His friend writes as follows :

"Pine Woods, Randolph Co., Ga.,
"June 19, 1853.

"DEAR SIR,—Such things as you speak of are too little thought of here to find their way into the papers, except incidentally. However, I can tell things that I have seen and heard.

"On the 23rd of April, 1852, a few days after my arrival in this State, it was my peculiar privilege to be riding in the stage with five or six ministers of the Gospel, who were

on their way to attend a Baptist Convention. Their conversation turned on runaway negroes, and, among the rest, of one known to one of the ministers, that eluded pursuit for some six months, but was finally tracked by dogs, and run into the middle of a pond of water, when he turned and fought off the dogs. The men coming up, one of them shot him with a rifle, the ball passing through his head just back of his eyes, extinguishing his sight but not his life. The preachers seemed to think that the shooter had done a good deed.

"June 7, 1852, I was on Red River, opposite Alexandria, in Louisiana. I saw a negro at the Alexandria shore in the water up to his neck, and a whole crowd of persons on the bank in chase, who succeeded in getting him out. Our boat afterwards landed there, when I learned that he had been shut up in gaol for safe keeping, and had broken out, when a man shot him with a double-barreled pistol in the neck, both balls taking effect. The man who shot him showed me the pistol, and told me the whole circumstance. It was thought the negro would die. I afterwards saw in the newspapers that he had made another attempt to escape, and succeeded.

"October 15, 1852, at Fayette, in Missouri, a man who had been a long time overseer in the South, told me that he never permitted the under-overseers (these are employed on large plantations as drivers, and are negroes) to have wire crackers on THEIR whips, but in spite of his vigilance they would have them.

"January 6, 1853, I stayed over night with a man in Leake County, Miss., who

took great delight in hunting runaway negroes, and who had shot one down dead.

" March 21, 1853, I was at Wabash, Miss. A man was telling of having his saddle-girth cut. He got his dogs, and put them on track, and followed to a negro dance, where they seized a negro by the throat, whom they took to his master to whip him. The owner contended that the dog testimony was not evidence, and that the man should not be whipped on the strength of it. But his captor, who had two friends with him, told the owner if he wanted to see the negro whipped, to come with them, for they were determined to whip him. Accordingly, the three commenced whipping him by turns, till they had given him three hundred and ten lashes, when they stopped, satisfied. His owner then asked him, 'Did you cut it?' 'Yes, massa, I did.' His owner then fell on him, and beat him, till they had to take him off.

" May 16, 1853. I was at Brooklyn, Miss., in company with three or four young men. They were talking of shooting negroes, and, among the rest, one who had been shot five times—three times by one of the young men's father.

" May 23, 1853. I was at Prairie Bluff, Ala., in a store. A negro came in with his hand in a sling. He had been shot a few days before. He was paying attention to a mulatto girl with the consent of her mistress, but her master was opposed to it and shot him. The owner of the store and I were in the woods hunting that afternoon. Said he to me—'I am no Abolitionist, but yet right is right, and wrong is wrong, and it is wrong to shoot a negro in that way; but still, nobody here dare say anything about it.'

" June 15, 1853, I was at Starkville, Ga. I was invited to go out on a negro hunt, but declined. The hunters came in about two P.M. They had caught their negro—or rather, the dogs had caught him for them. They let the dogs tear him some.

" June 17, 1853. The man where I stayed over night was telling me of a runaway negro that he caught with his dog. The dog downed him, and caught him by the throat.

" But if I were to tell you all the instances that have come under my observation, it would take too long. Suffice it to say, that when a negro runs away, they hunt him with dogs and guns; if they can catch him without killing him, good—though they generally let the dogs punish him some, and they may give him a load of squirrel shot. If mild measures like these do not suffice, they try what virtue there is in harsher punishment.

" May 9, 1853. I was on board a steam-boat on the Alabama River. A man on board, who had been an overseer, was telling me of his management. He was at one time overseer for a man that would not have his

negroes whipped. He (the overseer) ordered one of the slaves one day to do something, and accompanied the order with a threat. The negro slapped his back at him, when he drew a pistol loaded with shot, and fired it into the negro, who fell, but finally recovered. The owner made a great fuss, but after a while conceded that the overseer was right.

" Another overseer was telling me that he got along without whipping, but then he insisted that his negroes should be WELL FED AND CLOTHED.

" A negro is up, and cooks or prepares his breakfast, and eats it, and is in the field to work by the time he can see in the morning. He has five or ten minutes for his dinner at noon, and then works in the field till dark—then comes home, prepares his supper, and eats it, and rolls himself up in his blanket about midnight, and is called up between three and four A.M., to commence another day's work. Some men will not allow their slaves to be pushed, but such men fall behind-hand."

COLOURED NATIONAL CONVENTION.

We beg to call the attention of all who are interested in the progress and elevation of the free coloured people of the United States of America, to the following documents, inaugurating a movement which we are sanguine will lead to the most important results. So much malign influence has been brought into operation to induce a belief that the negro race is incapable of self-effort; that negro intellect is only a degree above the instinct of the brute creation; that the negro himself has no soul above "pumpkins and squashes;" in a word, so much has been written and said to cast reproach upon one of the most intelligent, affectionate, docile, and toiling people under the sun, that a movement of the kind under consideration, emanating from themselves, and embracing the discussion and settlement of the various questions on which the welfare of the race in the United States depends, cannot but recommend itself to the philanthropist, and but have his prayers for its success.

We abstain from more lengthened introductory comment, reserving our observations for a more convenient season. Nor do we offer any apology for inserting *in extenso* the two documents subjoined, believing they are amongst the most important that have for many years been given to the civilised world, as marking an era in the history of a degraded and oppressed race.

We cannot, however, refrain from quoting a few lines relating to the subject, penned by Mrs. H. B. Stowe to some friends in Dublin, and which show how deep an interest this distinguished lady takes in the movement,

and the estimate she has formed of its importance. She says :

" It is an important movement, this Convention, and full of promise to the slave. If we can once unite and elevate the free coloured people of the North, and inspire them with zeal for improvement, it will at once paralyse the right arm of slavery, for its only apology now is, that the coloured race are capable of nothing better."

The first document is the *Call for a Coloured National Convention*, issued by the distinguished coloured American citizens whose names we purposely retain at the foot of the " Call ;" for who shall say that they will not one day be upheld to the veneration of posterity, as are the names of that noble phalanx of liberty-lovers who signed the Declaration of American Independence? Not less glorious will be the emancipation, by their own efforts, of the free coloured people from the thralldom and the prejudice that now keep them, as a nation, down in the social scale, than was the vindication by the American people of their right to cast themselves free from a political despotism that had become to them intolerable.

THE CALL.

FELLOW-CITIZENS.—In the exercise of a liberty which, we hope, you will not deem unwarrantable, and which is given us, in virtue of our connexion and identity with you, the undersigned do hereby, most earnestly and affectionately, invite you, by your appropriate and chosen representatives, to assemble at Rochester, N. Y., on the 6th of July, 1853, under the form and title of a National Convention of the Free People of Colour of the United States.

After due thought and reflection upon the subject, in which has entered a profound desire to serve a common cause, we have arrived at the conclusion, that the time has now fully come when the free coloured people, from all parts of the United States, should meet together, to confer and deliberate upon their present condition, and upon principles and measures important to their welfare, progress, and general improvement.

The aspects of our cause, whether viewed as being hostile or friendly, are alike full of argument in favour of such a Convention. Both reason and feeling have assigned to us a place in the conflict now going on in our land, between liberty and equality on the one hand, and slavery and caste on the other—a place which we cannot fail to occupy without branding ourselves as unworthy of our natural post, and recreant to the cause we profess to love. Under the whole heavens, there is not to be found a people which can show better cause for assembling in such a Convention than we.

Our fellow-countrymen now in chains, to whom we are united in a common destiny, demand it ; and a wise solicitude for our own honour, and that of our children, impel us to this course of action. We have gross and flagrant wrongs, against which, if we are men of spirit, we are

bound to protest. We have high and holy rights, which every instinct of human nature, and every sentiment of manly virtue, bid us to preserve and protect to the full extent of our ability. We have opportunities to improve—difficulties peculiar to our condition to meet—mistakes and errors of our own to correct—and therefore we need the accumulated knowledge, the united character, and the combined wisdom of our people to make us (under God) sufficient for these things. The Fugitive Slave Act, the most cruel, unconstitutional, and scandalous outrage of modern times—the proscriptive legislation of several States, with a view to drive our people from their borders—the exclusion of our children from schools supported by our money—the prohibition of the exercise of the franchise—the exclusion of coloured citizens from the jury box—the social barriers erected against our learning trades—the wily and vigorous efforts of the American Colonization Society to employ the arm of Government to expel us from our native land—and withal the propitious awakening to the fact of our condition at home and abroad, which has followed the publication of " Uncle Tom's Cabin" —call trumpet-tongued for our union, co-operation, and action in the premises.

Convinced that the number amongst us must be small, who so far miscalculate and undervalue the importance of united and intelligent moral action, as to regard it as useless, the undersigned do not feel called upon here for an argument in its favour. Our warfare is not one where force can be employed ; we battle against false and hurtful customs, and against the great errors of opinion which support such customs. Nations are more and more guided by the enlightened and energetically expressed judgment of mankind. On the subject of our own condition and welfare, we may safely and properly appeal to that judgment. Let us meet, then, near the anniversary of this nation's independence, and enforce anew the great principles and self-evident truths which were proclaimed at the beginning of the Republic.

Among the matters which will engage the attention of the Convention, will be a proposition to establish a NATIONAL COUNCIL of our people with a view to permanent existence. This subject is one of vast importance, and should only be disposed of in the light of a wise deliberation. There will come before the Convention matters touching the disposition of such funds as our friends abroad, through Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, may appropriate to the cause of our progress and improvement. In a word, the whole field of our interests will be opened to inquiry, investigation, and determination.

That this may be done successfully, it is desirable that each delegate to the Convention should bring with him an accurate statement as to the number of coloured inhabitants in his town or neighbourhood—the amount of property owned by them—their business or occupation—the state of education—the extent of their school privileges, and the number of children in attendance, and any other information which may serve the great purposes of the Convention.

In order that no community shall be represented beyond its due proportion, it is intended that the Convention shall only be composed of

regularly chosen delegates, appointed by public meetings, and bearing credentials signed by the president of said meetings.

It is recommended that all coloured churches, literary, and other societies, banded together for laudable purposes, proceed at once to the appointment of at least one, and not more than three, delegates to attend the National Convention. Such persons as come from towns, villages, or counties, where no regular delegate may have been chosen, shall be received and enrolled as honorary members of the Convention.

James W. C. Pennington, Henry M. Wilson, Charles B. Ray, James McCune Smith, Edward V. Clark, *N. Y. City*; Wm. J. Wilson, Junius C. Morell, John N. Still, Amos N. Freeman, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*; Jacob P. Morris, Frederick Douglass, *Rochester, N. Y.*; Wm. H. Topp, Stephen Myres, *Albany, N. Y.*; J. W. Loguen, George B. Vashon, *Syracuse, N. Y.*; George T. Downing, Wm. Joeson, John N. Smith, *Providence, R. I.*; John Mercer Langston, Wm. H. Day, David Jenkins, John I. Gaines, *Ohio*; Charles H. Reason, J. J. G. Bias, J. B. Vashon, Robert Purvis, *Pennsylvania*; David Ruggles, L. Kelly, Robert Morris, C. L. Remond, *Mass.*; H. O. Wagoner, *Illinois*; E. P. Rogers, *Newark, N. J.*; George De Baptist, *Detroit, Mich.*; Benj. Lynch, S. S. Baltimore, *Troy, N. Y.*; Isaac Cross, Geo. Garrison, Amos Gerry Beman, Jehile C. Beman, George W. Francis, John E. Burr, Leverett C. Beman, *Connecticut*.

Not less remarkable than the above, is the following *Address of the Coloured National Convention to the People of the United States*. It presents a complete summary of the actual position and requirements of those who demand equal rights, and on this account alone—apart from its striking merits as a literary composition—is deserving of careful perusal.

FELLOW-CITIZENS.—Met in Convention as delegates, representing the free coloured people of the United States; charged with the responsibility of inquiring into the general condition of our people, and of devising measures which may, with the blessing of God, tend to our mutual improvement and elevation; conscious of entertaining no motives, ideas, or aspirations, but such as are in accordance with truth and justice, and are compatible with the highest good of our country and the world, with a cause as vital and worthy as that for which (nearly eighty years ago) your fathers and our fathers bravely contended, and in which they gloriously triumphed—we deem it proper, on this occasion, as one method of promoting the honourable ends for which we have met, and of discharging our duty to those in whose name we speak, to present the claims of our common cause to your candid, earnest, and favourable consideration.

As an apology for addressing you, fellow-citizens, we cannot announce to you the discovery of any new principle adapted to ameliorate the

condition of mankind. The great truths of moral and political science, upon which we rely, and which we press upon your consideration, have been evolved and enunciated by you. We point to your principles, your wisdom, and to your great example, as the full justification of our course this day. That “*all men are created equal*; that “*life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness*” are the right of all; that “*taxation and representation*” should go together; that governments are to protect, not to destroy, the rights of mankind; that the *Constitution of the United States was formed to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessing of liberty to all the people of this country*; that *resistance to tyrants is obedience to God*—are American principles and maxims, and together they form and constitute the constructive elements of the American Government. From this elevated platform, provided by the Republic for us, and for all the children of men, we address you. In doing so, we would have our spirit properly discerned. On this point we would gladly free ourselves and our cause from all misconception. We shall affect no especial timidity, nor can we pretend to any great boldness. We know our poverty and weakness, and your wealth and greatness. Yet we will not attempt to repress the spirit of liberty within us, or to conceal, in any wise, our sense of the justice and the dignity of our cause.

We are Americans, and as Americans we would speak to Americans. We address you not as aliens nor as exiles, humbly asking to be permitted to dwell among you in peace; but we address you as American citizens asserting their rights on their own native soil. Neither do we address you as enemies (although the recipients of innumerable wrongs), but in the spirit of patriotic good will. In assembling together as we have done, our object is not to excite pity for ourselves, but to command respect for our cause, and to obtain justice for our people. We are not malefactors imploring mercy; but we trust we are honest men, honestly appealing for righteous judgment, and ready to stand or fall by that judgment. We do not solicit unusual favour, but will be content with rough-handed “fair play.” We are neither lame or blind, that we should seek to throw off the responsibility of our own existence, or to cast ourselves upon public charity for support. We would not lay our burdens upon other men’s shoulders; but we do ask, in the name of all that is just and magnanimous among men, to be freed from all the unnatural burdens and impediments with which American customs and American legislation have hindered our progress and improvement. We ask to be disengaged of the load of popular reproach heaped upon us—for no better cause than that we wear the complexion given us by our God and our Creator.

We ask that, in our native land, we shall not be treated as strangers, and worse than strangers.

We ask that, being friends of America, we should not be treated as enemies of America.

We ask that, speaking the same language and being of the same religion, worshipping the same God, owing our redemption to the same Saviour,

and learning our duties from the same Bible, we shall not be treated as barbarians.

We ask that, having the same physical, moral, mental, and spiritual wants, common to other members of the human family, we shall also have the same means which are granted and secured to others, to supply those wants.

We ask that the doors of the school-house, the workshop, the church, the college, shall be thrown open as freely to our children, as to the children of other members of the community.

We ask that the American government shall be so administered, as that beneath the broad shield of the Constitution, the coloured American seaman shall be secure in his life, liberty and property, in every State in the Union.

We ask that as justice knows no rich, no poor, no black, no white, but, like the government of God, renders alike to every man reward or punishment, according as his works shall be—the white and the black man may stand upon an equal footing before the laws of the land.

We ask that (since the right of trial by jury is a safeguard to liberty, against the encroachments of power, only as it is a trial by impartial men, drawn indiscriminately from the country) coloured men shall not, in every instance, be tried by white persons; and that coloured men shall not be either by custom or enactment excluded from the jury-box.

We ask that (inasmuch as we are, in common with other American citizens, supporters of the State, subject to its laws, interested in its welfare, liable to be called upon to defend it in time of war, contributors to its wealth in time of peace) the complete and unrestricted right of suffrage, which is essential to the dignity even of the white man, be extended to the free coloured man also.

Whereas the coloured people of the United States have too long been retarded and impeded in the development and improvement of their natural faculties and powers, ever to become dangerous rivals to white men, in the honourable pursuits of life, liberty and happiness; and whereas the proud Anglo-Saxon can need no arbitrary protection from open and equal competition with any variety of the human family; and whereas laws have been enacted, limiting the aspirations of coloured men, as against white men—we respectfully submit that such laws are flagrantly unjust to the man of colour, and plainly discreditable to white men; and, for these and other reasons, such laws ought to be repealed.

We especially urge that all laws and usages which preclude the enrolment of coloured men in the militia, and prohibit their bearing arms in the navy, disallow their rising, agreeable to their merits and attainments—are unconstitutional—the Constitution knowing no colour—are anti-democratic, since democracy respects men as equals—are unmagnanimous, since such laws are made by the many against the few, and by the strong against the weak.

We ask that all those cruel and oppressive laws, whether enacted at the South or the North, which aim at the expatriation of the free people of colour, shall be stamped with national reprobation, denounced as contrary to the humanity of the American people, and as an outrage upon the

Christianity and civilization of the nineteenth century.

We ask that the right of pre-emption, enjoyed by all white settlers upon the public lands, shall also be enjoyed by coloured settlers; and that the word "*white*" be struck from the pre-emption Act. We ask that no appropriations whatever, state or national, shall be granted to the colonization scheme; and we would have our right to leave or to remain in the United States placed above legislative interference.

We ask that the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, that legislative monster of modern times, by whose atrocious provisions the writ of "*habeas corpus*," the "right of trial by jury," have been virtually abolished, shall be repealed.

We ask that the law of 1793 be so construed as to apply only to apprentices, and others really owing service or labour; and not to slaves, who can *owe* nothing. Finally, we ask that slavery in the United States shall be immediately, unconditionally, and for ever abolished.

To accomplish these just and reasonable ends, we solemnly pledge ourselves to God, to each other, to our country, and to the world, to use all and every means consistent with the just rights of our fellow-men, and with the precepts of Christianity.

We shall speak, write and publish, organise and combine to accomplish them.

We shall invoke the aid of the pulpit and the press to gain them.

We shall appeal to the church and to the government to gain them.

We shall vote, and expend our money to gain them.

We shall send eloquent men of our own condition to plead our cause before the people.

We shall invite the co-operation of good men in this country and throughout the world—and, above all, we shall look to God, the Father and Creator of all men, for wisdom to direct us and strength to support us in the holy cause to which we this day solemnly pledge ourselves.

Such, fellow-citizens, are our aims, ends, aspirations and determinations. We place them before you, with the earnest hope, that upon further investigation they will meet your cordial and active approval.

And yet, again, we would free ourselves from the charge of unreasonableness and self-sufficiency.

In numbers we are few and feeble; but in the goodness of our cause, in the rectitude of our motives, and in the abundance of argument on our side, we are many and strong.

We count our friends in the heavens above, in the earth beneath, among good men and holy angels. The subtle and mysterious cords of human sympathy have connected us with philanthropic hearts throughout the civilised world. The number in our own land who already recognise the justice of our cause, and are labouring to promote it, is great and increasing.

It is also a source of encouragement, that the genuine American, brave and independent himself, will respect bravery and independence in others. He spurns servility and meanness, whether they be manifested by nations or by individuals. We submit, therefore, that there is neither

necessity for, nor disposition on our part, to assume a tone of excessive humility. While we would be respectful, we must address you as men, as citizens, as brothers, as dwellers in a common country, equally interested with you for its welfare, its honour, and for its prosperity.

To be still more explicit: we would, first of all, be understood to range ourselves no lower among our fellow-countrymen, than is implied in the high appellation of "*citizen*."

Notwithstanding the impositions and deprivations which have fettered us—notwithstanding the disabilities and liabilities, pending and impending—notwithstanding the cunning, cruel, and scandalous efforts to blot out that right, we declare that we are, and of right we ought to be, *American citizens*. We claim this right, and we claim all the rights and privileges and duties which properly attach to it.

It may, and it will probably, be disputed that we are citizens. We may, and probably, shall be denounced for this declaration, as making an inconsiderate, impertinent and absurd claim to citizenship; but a very little reflection will vindicate the position we have assumed from so unfavourable a judgment. Justice is never inconsiderate; truth is never impertinent; right is never absurd. If the claim we set up be just, true and right, it will not be deemed improper or ridiculous in us so to declare it. Nor is it disrespectful to our fellow-citizens, who repudiate the aristocratic notions of the old world, that we range ourselves with them in respect to all the rights and prerogatives belonging to American citizens. Indeed, we believe, when you have duly considered this subject, you will command us for the mildness and modesty with which we have taken our ground.

By birth, we are American citizens; by the principles of the Declaration of Independence, we are American citizens; within the meaning of the United States Constitution, we are American citizens; by the facts of history, and the admissions of American statesmen, we are American citizens; by the hardships and trials endured, by the courage and fidelity displayed by our ancestors in defending the liberties and in achieving the independence of our land, we are American citizens. In proof of the justice of this primary claim we might cite numerous authorities, facts, and testimonies,—a few only must suffice.

In the Convention of New York, held for amending the Constitution of that State, in the year 1821, an interesting discussion took place, upon a proposition to prefix the word "*white*" to male citizens. Nathan Sandford, then late Chancellor of the State, said:—

"Here there is but one estate—*the people*—and to me the only qualification seems to be their virtue and morality. If they may be safely trusted to vote for one class of voters, why not for all? The principle of the scheme is, that those who bear the burdens of the State shall choose those that rule it."

Dr. Robert Clark, in the same debate, said:—

"I am unwilling to retain the word '*white*', because it is repugnant to all the principles and notions of liberty to which we have hitherto professed to adhere, and to our 'Declaration of Independence,' which is a concise and just *exposé*

of those principles." He said, "it had been appropriately observed by the hon. gentleman from Westchester (Mr. Jay), that by retaining this word, you violate the Constitution of the United States."

Chancellor Kent supported the motion of Mr. Jay to strike out the word "*white*."

"He did not come to this Convention," said he, "to disfranchise any portion of the community."

Peter A. Jay, on the same occasion, said, "It is insisted that this Convention, clothed with all the powers of the sovereign people of the State, have a right to construct the government in a manner they think most conducive to the general good. If, Sir, right and power be equivalent terms, then I am far from disputing the rights of this assembly. We have power, Sir, I acknowledge, not only to disfranchise every black family, but as many white families also, as we may think expedient. We may place the whole government in the hands of a few, and thus construct an aristocracy. * * * But, Sir, right and power are not convertible terms. No man, no body of men, however powerful, have a right to do wrong."

In the same Convention, Martin Van Buren said:

"There were two words which had come into common use with our revolutionary struggle—words which contained an abridgment of our political rights—words which, at that day, had a talismanic effect—which led our fathers from the bosom of their families to the tented field—which, for seven long years of toil and suffering, had kept them to their arms, and which finally conducted them to a glorious triumph. They were—'*Taxation and Representation*.' Nor did they lose their influence with the close of the struggle. They were never heard in our halls of legislation without bringing to our recollection the consecrated feelings of those who won our liberties, or reminding us of everything that was sacred in principle."

Ogden Edwards said, "he considered it no better than robbery to demand the contributions of coloured people towards defraying the public expenses, and at the same time to disfranchise them."

But we must close our quotations from these debates. Much more could be cited to show that coloured men are not only citizens, but that they have a right to the exercise of the elective franchise in the State of New York. If the right of citizenship is established in the State of New York, it is in consequence of the same facts which exist at least in every free State of the Union. We turn from the debates in the State of New York to the nation; and here we find testimony abundant and incontestable, that free coloured people are esteemed as citizens by the highest authorities in the United States.

The Constitution of the United States declares "that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the United States."

There is, in this clause of the Constitution, nothing whatever of that watchful malignity which has manifested itself lately in the insertion of the word "*white*" before the term "*citizen*."

The word, "white," was unknown to the framers of the Constitution of the United States in such connections—unknown to the signers of the Declaration of Independence—unknown to the brave men at *Bunker Hill*, *Ticonderoga*, and at *Red Bank*. It is a modern word, brought into use by modern legislators, despised in revolutionary times. The question of our citizenship came up as a national question, and was settled during the pendency of the Missouri question, in 1820.

It will be remembered that that State presented herself for admission into the Union, with a clause in her Constitution prohibiting the settlement of coloured citizens within her borders. Resistance was made to her admission into the Union, upon that very ground; and it was not until that State receded from her unconstitutional position, that President Monroe declared the admission of Missouri into the Union to be complete.

According to Niles' Register, August 18th, vol. 20, pages 338-339, the refusal to admit Missouri into the Union was not withdrawn until the General Assembly of that State, in conformity to a fundamental condition imposed by Congress, had, by an Act passed for that purpose, solemnly enacted and declared:

"That this State (Missouri) has assented, and does assent, that the fourth clause of the 26th section of the third article of their Constitution should never be construed to authorise the passage of any law, and that no law shall be passed in conformity thereto, by which any citizen of either of the United States shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizens are entitled under the Constitution of the United States."

Upon this action by the State of Missouri, President Monroe proclaimed the admission of Missouri into the Union.

Here, fellow-citizens, we have a recognition of our citizenship by the highest authority of the United States; and here we might rest our claim to citizenship. But there have been services performed, hardships endured, courage displayed by our fathers, which modern American historians forget to record—a knowledge of which is essential to an intelligent judgment of the merits of our people. Thirty years ago, slavery was less powerful than it is now; American statesmen were more independent then than now; and, as a consequence, the black man's patriotism and bravery were more readily recognised. The age of slave-hunting had not then come on. In the memorable debate on the Missouri question, the meritorious deeds of our fathers obtained respectful mention. The Hon. Wm. Eustis, who had himself been a soldier of the revolution, and Governor of the State of Massachusetts, made a speech in the Congress of the United States, 12th December, and said:

"The question to be determined is, whether the article in the Constitution of Missouri, requiring the legislature to provide by law, 'that free negroes and mulattoes shall not be admitted into that State,' is, or is not repugnant to that clause of the Constitution of the United States which declares 'that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?' This is

the question. Those who contend that the article is not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, take the position that free blacks and mulattoes are not citizens. Now, I invite the gentlemen who maintain this to go with me and examine this question to its root. At the early part of the revolutionary war there were found, in the middle and Northern States, many blacks and other people of colour, capable of bearing arms, a part of them free, and a greater part of them slaves. The freemen entered our ranks with the whites. The time of those who were slaves was purchased by the State, and they were induced to enter the service in consequence of a law, by which, on condition of their serving in the ranks during the war, they were made freemen. In Rhode Island, where their numbers were more considerable, they were formed, under the same considerations, into a regiment, commanded by white officers; and it is required, in justice to them, to add, that they discharged their duty with zeal and fidelity. The gallant defence of Red Bank, in which the black regiment bore a part, is among the proofs of their valour.

"Not only the rights, but the character of those men do not seem to be understood; nor is it to me at all extraordinary that gentlemen from other States, in which the condition, character, the moral facilities, and the rights of men of colour differ so widely, should entertain opinions so variant from ours. In Massachusetts, Sir, there are among them who possess all the virtues which are deemed estimable in civil and social life. They have their public teachers of religion and morality—their schools and other institutions. On anniversaries which they consider interesting to them, they have their public processions, in all of which they conduct themselves with order and decorum. Now, we ask only, that in a disposition to accommodate others, their avowed rights and privileges be not taken from them. If their number be small, and they are feebly represented, we, to whom they are known, are proportionately bound to protect them. But their defence is not founded on their numbers; it rests on the immutable principles of justice. If there be only one family, or a solitary individual who has rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution, whatever may be his colour or complexion, it is not in the power, nor can it be the inclination of Congress to deprive him of them. And I trust, Sir, that the decision on this occasion will show that we will extend good faith even to the blacks."—*National Intelligencer*, Jan. 2, 1821.

The following is an extract from a speech of the Hon. Mr. Morrill, of New Hampshire, delivered in the United States Senate in the same month, and reported in the *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 11th, 1821:

"Sir, you excluded not only the citizens from their constitutional privileges and immunities, but also your soldiers of colour, to whom you have given patents of land. You had a company of this description. They have fought your battles. They have defended your country. They have preserved your privileges, but have lost their own. What did you say to them on their enlistment? 'We will give you a monthly compensation, and, at the end of the war, 160 acres of

good land, on which you may settle, and by cultivating the soil, spend your declining years in peace and in the enjoyment of those immunities for which you have fought and bled. Now, Sir, you restrict them, and will not allow them to enjoy the fruit of their labour. Where is the public faith in this case? Did they suppose, with a patent in their hand, declaring their title to land in Missouri, with the seal of the nation, and the President's signature affixed thereto, it would be said unto them, by any authority, you shall not possess the premises? This could never have been anticipated; and yet this must follow, if coloured men are not citizens."

Mr. Strong, of New York, said, in the same great debate, "The federal Constitution knows but two descriptions of freemen; these are, citizens and aliens. Now, Congress can naturalise only aliens—*i. e.*, persons who owe allegiance to a foreign government. But a slave has no country, and owes no allegiance except to his master. How, then, is he an alien? If restored to his liberty, and made a Freeman, what is his national character? It must be determined by the federal Constitution, and without reference to policy; for it respects liberty. Is it that of a citizen or alien? But it has been shown that he is not an alien. May we not, therefore, conclude—nay, are we not bound to conclude that he is a citizen of the United States?"

Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, speaking of the coloured people, in Congress, and with reference to the same question, bore this testimony:

"They then were (during the Revolution), as they still are, as valuable a part of our population to the Union, as any other equal number of inhabitants. They were, in numerous instances, the pioneers; and in all the labours of your armies, to their hands were owing the erection of the greatest part of the fortifications raised for the protection of our country. Fort Moultrie gave, at an early period, the experience and untired valour of our citizens immortality to American arms; and, in the Northern States, numerous bodies of them were enrolled, and fought, side by side, with the whites, the battles of the Revolution."

General Jackson, in his celebrated proclamations to the free coloured inhabitants of Louisiana, uses these expressions: "Your white fellow-citizens;" and again: "Our brave citizens are united, and all contention has ceased among them."

FIRST PROCLAMATION.

Extracts.

"Head Quarters, 7th Military Dis't.,
Mobile, Sept. 21st, 1814.

To the Free Coloured Inhabitants of Louisiana:

"Through a mistaken policy you have heretofore been deprived of a participation in the glorious struggle for national rights, in which your country is engaged.

"This no longer shall exist.

"As sons of freedom, you are now called on to defend our most inestimable blessings. As Americans, your country looks with confidence to her adopted children for a valorous support. As fathers, husbands, and brothers, you are summoned to rally round the standard of the Eagle, to defend all which is dear to existence.

"Your country, although calling for your exertions, does not wish you to engage in her cause without remunerating you for the services rendered.

"In the sincerity of a soldier, and in the language of truth, I address you.—To every noble-hearted free man of colour, volunteering to serve during the present contest with Great Britain, and no longer, there will be paid the same bounty in money and land now received by the white soldiers of the United States, viz.: 124 dollars in money, and 160 acres of land. The non-commissioned officers and privates will also be entitled to the same monthly pay and daily rations, and clothes, furnished to any American soldier.

"The Major-General commanding will select officers for your government from your white fellow-citizens. Your non-commissioned officers will be selected from yourselves. Due regard will be paid to the feelings of freemen and soldiers. As a distinct, independent battalion or regiment, pursuing the path of glory, you will, undivided, receive the applause and gratitude of your countrymen.

"ANDREW JACKSON,
"Major-Gen. Commanding."
—*Niles' Register*, Dec. 3, 1814, Vol. 7, p. 205.

SECOND PROCLAMATION.

To the Free People of Colour:

"Soldiers! when on the banks of the Mobile I called you to take up arms, inviting you to partake the perils and glory of your white fellow-citizens, I expected much from you; for I was not ignorant that you possessed qualities most formidable to an invading enemy. I knew with what fortitude you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the fatigues of a campaign.

"I knew well how you loved your native country, and that you, as well as ourselves, had to defend what man holds most dear—his parents, wife, children, and property. You have done more than I expected. In addition to the previous qualities I before knew you to possess, I found among you a noble enthusiasm which leads to the performance of great things.

"Soldiers! the President of the United States shall hear how praiseworthy was your conduct in the hour of danger, and the representatives of the American people will give you the praise your exploits entitle you to. Your General anticipates them in applauding your noble ardour.

"The enemy approaches—his vessels cover our lakes—our brave citizens are united, and all contention has ceased among them. Their only dispute is, who shall win the prize of valour, or who the most glory, its noblest reward.

"By order,

"THOMAS BUTLER, Aide-de-Camp." Such, fellow-citizens, is but a sample of a mass of testimony, upon which we found our claim to be American citizens. There is, we think, no flaw in the evidence. The case is made out. We and you stand upon the same broad national basis. Whether at home or abroad, we and you owe equal allegiance to the same government—have a right to look for protection on the same ground. We have been born and reared on the same soil; we have been animated by, and have displayed the same patriotic impulses; we have

acknowledged and performed the same duty ; we have fought and bled in the same battles ; we have gained and gloried in the same victories ; and we are equally entitled to the blessings resulting therefrom.

In view of this array of evidence of services bravely rendered, how base and monstrous would be the ingratitude, should the republic disown us and drive us into exile ; how faithless and selfish, should the nation persist in degrading us ! But we will not remind you of obligations—we will not appeal to your generous feelings—a naked statement of the case is our best appeal. Having, now, upon the testimony of your own great and venerated names, completely vindicated our right to be regarded and treated as American citizens, we hope you will now permit us to address you in the plainness of speech becoming the dignity of American citizens.

Fellow-citizens, we have had, and still have, great wrongs of which to complain. A heavy and cruel hand has been laid upon us.

As a people, we feel ourselves to be not only deeply injured, but grossly misunderstood. Our white fellow-countrymen do not know us. They are strangers to our character, ignorant of our capacity, oblivious of our history and progress, and are misinformed as to the principles and ideas that control and guide us as a people. The great mass of American citizens estimate us as being a characterless and purposeless people ; and hence we hold up our heads, if at all, against the withering influence of a nation's scorn and contempt.

It will not be surprising that we are so misunderstood and misused when the motives for misrepresenting us and for degrading us are duly considered. Indeed, it will seem strange, upon such consideration, (and in view of the ten thousand channels through which malign feelings find utterance and influence,) that we have not even fallen lower in public estimation than we have done. For, with the single exception of the Jews, under the whole heavens there is not to be found a people pursued with a more relentless prejudice and persecution, than are the free coloured people of the United States.

Without pretending to have exerted ourselves as we ought, in view of an intelligent understanding of our interest, to avert from us the unfavourable opinions and unfriendly action of the American people, we feel that the imputations cast upon us, for our want of intelligence, morality, and exalted character, may be mainly accounted for by the injustice we have received at your hands. What stone has been left unturned to degrade us ? What hand has refused to fan the flame of popular prejudice against us ? What American artist has not caricatured us ? What wit has not laughed at us in our wretchedness ? What songster has not made merry over our depressed spirits ? What press has not ridiculed and contemned us ? What pulpit has withheld from our devoted heads its angry lightning, or its sanctimonious hate ? Few, few, very few ; and that we have borne up with it all—that we have tried to be wise, though denounced by all to be fools—that we have tried to be upright, when all around us have esteemed us as knaves—that we have striven to be gentlemen, although all

around us have been teaching us its impossibility—that we have remained here, when all our neighbours have advised us to leave—proves that we possess qualities of head and heart, such as cannot but be commended by impartial men. It is believed that no other nation on the globe could have made more progress in the midst of such an universal and stringent disparagement. It would humble the proudest, crush the energies of the strongest, and retard the progress of the swiftest. In view of our circumstances, we can without boasting thank God, and take courage, having placed ourselves where we may fairly challenge comparison with more highly favoured men.

Among the coloured people, we can point, with pride and hope, to men of education and refinement, who have become such, despite of the most unfavourable influences ; we can point to mechanics, farmers, merchants, teachers, ministers, doctors, lawyers, editors, and authors, against whose progress the concentrated energies of American prejudice have proved quite unavailing.—Now, what is the motive for ignoring and discouraging our improvement in this country ? The answer is ready. The intelligent and upright free man of colour is an unanswerable argument in favour of liberty, and a killing condemnation of American slavery. It is easily seen that, in proportion to the progress of the free man of colour, in knowledge, temperance, industry, and righteousness, in just that proportion will he endanger the stability of slavery ; hence, all the powers of slavery are exerted to prevent the elevation of the free people of colour.

The force of fifteen hundred million dollars is arrayed against us ; hence, the press, the pulpit, and the platform, against all the natural promptings of uncontaminated manhood, point their deadly missiles of ridicule, scorn, and contempt at us ; and bid us, on pain of being pierced through and through, to remain in our degradation.

Let the same amount of money be employed against the interest of any other class of persons, however favoured by nature they may be, the result could scarcely be different from that seen in our own case. Such a people would be regarded with aversion ; the money-ruled multitude would heap contumely upon them ; and money-ruled institutions would proscribe them. Besides this money-consideration, fellow-citizens, an explanation of the erroneous opinions prevalent concerning us is furnished in the fact, less creditable to human nature, that men are apt to hate most those whom they have injured most.—Having despised us, it is not strange that Americans should seek to render us despicable ; having enslaved us, it is natural that they should strive to prove us unfit for freedom ; having denounced us as indolent, it is not strange that they should cripple our enterprise ; having assumed our inferiority, it would be extraordinary if they sought to surround us with circumstances which would serve to make us direct contradictions to their assumption.

In conclusion, fellow-citizens, while conscious of the immense disadvantages which beset our pathway, and fully appreciating our own weakness, we are encouraged to persevere in efforts adapted to our improvement, by a firm reliance upon God, and a settled conviction, as immo-

able as the everlasting hills, that all the truths in the whole universe of God are allied to our cause.—FREDERICK DOUGLASS, J. M. WHITFIELD, H. O. WAGONER, REV. A. N. FREEMAN, GEORGE B. VASHON.

THE TIMES AND SLAVE SALES.

We should not have been surprised, some years ago, to have met in the columns of the *Times*, or of any London journal, with such an advertisement as the following. So long as public opinion tolerated the holding of men, women, and children as chattels marketable in our colonial possessions, it would have been mere mawkish sensibility to affect disgust at the announcements in the periodical press of the auctions of these unfortunate beings. In these days, however, when public opinion has set its face against slavery, there is something peculiarly revolting in the idea of a sale of negroes being announced in the most popular journal in the world. We must believe it to have slipped in unnoticed, though its appearance in the columns of a paper of such wide circulation was not so likely to escape attention. We subjoin the original advertisement, and an excellent letter on the subject which appeared a day or two after in the same journal. It is to be hoped that for the sake of five shillings—the probable price of such advertisements—our newspapers will not imperil their reputation by opening their columns to the convenience of man-stealers and man-sellers.

"ADVERTISING OF SLAVE SALES.

"To the Editor of the *Times*.

"SIR.—The advertisement in the fourth column of the third page of the *Times* of the 10th of October, informing your readers of an opportunity for purchasing negro slaves at a forthcoming sale to take place on the 14th of November, at Amsterdam, is startling.

"Often have I exhibited to unbelieving friends the strings of advertisements in the American papers announcing the sale of Hectors, Toms, Agamemnons, Sally Andromaches, with or without their children, even though some of them be babes in arms; but I do not remember to have ever seen in the *Times* such an advertisement as now appears relative to the 'Coffee Plantation of Goossen, situate in the colony of Surinam, with its negroes, cattle, and other appurtenances.'

"That there are Englishmen who will purchase such property in man, I doubt not. One right hon. baronet owns some black men in Surinam now, and it was but lately that a bank in Glasgow held a mortgage on such property. Let me tell your readers how such property is regarded in the colony of Surinam. No, I cannot; but I can give one instance—it may be a rare one, but I believe it to be not a rare one in Surinam; the damnable coolness with which the owner gave it to me, and his social position in Surinam, lead me to believe such murder is not uncommon.

"Dining at my house for the first (and of

course for the last) time, a Dutchman expatiated on the drunken character of slaves in attendance on the rum-stills in Surinam. Many and awful were the punishments described as having been inflicted on them for exceeding. His success was greater than that of other owners. He, finding his property drunk, ordered its mouth—but I cannot proceed treating man, made in the image of God, as property—I should say, ordered the slave's mouth to be held open, and the attendants compelled the poor creature to drink until he died. My visitor was allowed to say no more. I got up from the table, saying he was a murderer, whom English law could not reach, and with whom I could hold no further conversation.

"A purchaser of the 'Coffee plantation, Goossen,' may have an equal power over the 'negroes, cattle, and other appurtenances,' but for all such there is a judgment to come. I mention the latter, because, though not stated in the advertisement, it must be thought of. I am, Sir,

"YOUR CONSTANT READER.
"Fludyer-street, Whitehall, Oct. 10."

The following is the advertisement :

"SALE OF A PLANTATION, IN SURINAME.—On the 14th November next will be offered to public sale, at Amsterdam, the very fertile and highly-cultivated Coffee Plantation, Goossen, situate in the colony of Surinam, in the Mattapicakreek, with its negroes, grounds, buildings, plantings, instruments, cattle, and other appurtenances. Extent, according to the inventory, 396½ acres. Information to be had at the office of Messrs. Louwense and Biesmans Simons, notaries public, at Amsterdam."

Shame!

Miscellanea.

THE FAMISHED HAND.—In the year 1834, or 1835, I left Norfolk (Virginia), in a large schooner, bound for New York. One of the cabin passengers had a sick child and no attendant. The second day after we left Norfolk the child asked for food, and I offered to prepare a toast for it. For this purpose I went to the cook's room, which was below the deck, and in going to which it was necessary to pass a quantity of freight which had been put on board at Norfolk. The steward assisted me in making the toast, and added a cracker and a cup of tea. With these, on a small waiter, I was retiring to the cabin, when, in passing the freight, which consisted of boxes, bags, &c., a little, tawny, famished-looking hand was held out from between the packages. The skeleton fingers, agitated by a convulsive movement, were evidently reached forth with a view to the food in my possession. Shocked, but not alarmed by the apparition, I laid the cracker on the hand, which was immediately withdrawn. No one observed the transaction, and I went swiftly to the cabin. The sick child was gratified with its meal; and when in the afternoon it wanted more, I again offered my services. I apologised to the steward for the liberty I was taking, in visiting his premises so often, but pleaded the necessity of attending to the little invalid. I found he was a father; and inquired the names

of his children. I brought him presents for them, and so ingratiated myself into his favour that I soon had free access to the larder, and often found nice things prepared for myself as well as for the little one in the cabin. But whatever I could procure was divided with the famished hand, which to me had become a precious charge. There must have been an eye to watch my motions. In fancy I could see that eye gleaming at my approach, but at other times closed in dim despair. As all was tranquil on board, it was evident that I alone was aware of the presence of the unseen fugitive, and I humbly returned thanks to God for allowing me the privilege of ministering to the wants of this His outcast, despised, and persecuted image. That the unfortunate being was a slave I doubted not, but how could I serve him or her, or whoever it might be, effectually? I knew the laws and usages in such cases; I knew the poor being had nothing to hope for from the captain and crew of the vessel, and repeatedly asked myself the agonizing question, "Will there be any way of escape?" I had hope that we might land in the night, and so, under favour of darkness, the fugitive be enabled to go on shore unseen by those on board. I determined to watch for and assist the creature who had been thus providentially consigned to my care. On the sixth day (we having a long passage) I found that the goods below were being moved in order to come at something that was wanted, and so filled up was the passage that I could not go below. My heart seemed to die within me, for the safety of the sufferer had become dear to me. We sat down to dinner, but the dishes swam before my eyes. I felt that a discovery must take place. The tumbling of the freight below had not ceased. Each moment I expected an alarm. At length I heard a sudden "hallo!"—and all was quiet. Presently, the steward came into the cabin; looked significantly at the company, and whispered to the captain. The captain was carving, and immediately laid down his knife and fork, and went on deck. One of the passengers followed him, but soon returned, and, in a laughing manner, informed us that a strange passenger had been found among the freight. "It is," added he, "a small mulatto boy, who says that he belongs to Mr. —, of Norfolk; that he had been concealed among the lumber on the wharves for two weeks, and secreted himself in the schooner the night before we sailed. He is going to New York to find his father, who escaped two years since. And," continued he, "he is starved to a skeleton hardly worth taking back." Many jokes were passed as to the manner of his being renovated, when he should again fall into the hands of his master. Some thought the vessel must put immediately back; others were of opinion that, as we were within eight or ten hours' sail of New York, the trip would be made, and the boy carried back on her return. The unfortunate child had been brought on deck, and we all left the cabin to look at him. I followed behind, almost unwilling to see him, and stood some time by the companion-way, in order to gain strength for the interview. I then proceeded forward. As soon as he discovered me a bright gleam passed over his countenance, and he instinctively held out the same famished hand. My feelings were no longer to be

controlled. There stood a child before me, not more than eleven or twelve years of age; of yellow complexion and sad countenance, nearly naked, his back seared with scars, and his flesh wasted to the bone. I burst into tears—into lamentations; and the jeers of others were, for the moment, turned into sympathy. It, however, began to be suspected that I had brought the boy away, and, in that case, the vessel must put back, in order to give me up also. But I related the circumstances as they occurred, and all appeared satisfied with the truth of my statement. I requested I might be allowed to feed the boy, which request was granted, and I carried some dinner on a plate. He ate voraciously, and, as I stood beside him, he looked into my face at every mouthful. There was something confiding in his look. When he had finished his meal, as I took the plate, he rubbed his fingers softly on my hand, and leaned his head towards me like a weary child. Oh! that I could have offered him a place of rest! that I could have comforted and protected him, a helpless child—a feeble, emaciated, suffering, innocent lad, reserved for bondage and the torture! Towards evening he was taken below, and I was no more allowed to see him, but I learnt that he was put in the steerage, strongly bound, and that the "proper authorities" of New York would be consulted as to the disposal of him. We came to anchor during the night at some distance below the city, the captain informing us in the morning that the vessel had been forbidden to enter the port with a fugitive slave on board; that she must discharge her cargo where she lay, and return with all possible despatch to Norfolk. A boat was provided to carry us up, and I remarked to the captain that there was "great ado about a helpless child." He replied, "The laws must be obeyed."—*Toronto paper.*

THE NEGRO EXODUS.—In consequence of the rigid enforcement of the 18th Article of the new Constitution of Indiana, the black population of that State are leaving in hundreds for quarters in the Eastern States. The *Cincinnati Commercial*, of the 18th ult., says, "We scarcely pass along the landing in these long June days without observing one or more negro families, with their household 'plunder,' recently landed from some of the lower river or Madison steamers. Becoming a little curious with regard to this new feature in African movements, we made inquiry, and found that they were moving from Indiana in consequence of the severe enactments of the legislature enforcing the 18th Article of the New Constitution of that State. All persons whose mothers are unable to prove the possession of a greater proportion than one-sixteenth of European blood, and who came into Hoosierdom since November 1st, 1851, are forced to take up their beds, if they have any, and walk. All negroes, mulattoes, quadroons, octageroons, duodecaroons, &c., who can prove a residence in the State prior to November 1st, are allowed to remain, under certain conditions, and by registering their names with a county clerk. Any person who employs a negro, who is in the State contrary to the new law, is liable to a fine of not less than ten nor more than five hundred dollars."—*National Era*, July 14th, 1853.

THE SLAVE-MARKET AT MEMPHIS.—A correspondent of the *Chicago Daily Times* gives the following description of some things he saw at Memphis:—"I landed at this place on Christmas morning. The first thing that met my eye, standing on a high bank facing the river, was the following inscription in large letters, upon a fine building, with piazza and pillars in front:—'Bolton, Dickens, and Co., Slave Dealers.' In addition to this, I soon found two others on one of the principal streets in the city, situated nearly opposite to each other. The sign of one reads thus:—'Byrd Hill, Slave Market;' the other, 'Ben Little, Slave Market and Livery Stable.' I visited them, and was invited to 'walk in and look at the stock.' Oh! how my whole being recoiled at the thought. There were men and women, girls and boys, of almost every shade of complexion, ranging in age from ten to thirty or forty, all well dressed, as you see no other slaves except some favoured body-servants. Some of the best-looking young women were attired in beautiful de laine, made in the fashion too. When a stranger goes in, they are quickly arranged upon seats on either side of the room, and they watch with interest any one they suppose intends to buy. Of course, you can examine teeth, limbs, &c., and call for any exercises from them you choose. They are taken out every day and walked around in a large circle, the men and boys under one leader, and the females under another. I was not permitted to look into their place of confinement for the night, but only saw the grated window. Near by are horses and mules for sale, and they are fat and sleek, because in the market. For the same reason were these men and women well dressed."

HORRORS OF SLAVEREVENGE.—We learn from persons who received their information from citizens of New Petersburg, situated in Hillborough County, that on Friday and Saturday last a party of men, three of whom were Kentuckians from Mason and Fleming Counties, and two Ohioans, passed through that village in pursuit of three slaves, the property of one of the party, named Pierce, and another owner. It seems they had information which led them to believe that the slaves were on the route through New Petersburg to Greenfield, but they had not yet crossed Rattlesnake Creek, which runs about a mile east of Petersburg. From Petersburg there are two roads leading to Greenfield, one of which crosses the creek over a bridge, and the other by a ford about half a mile farther up. Three of the pursuing party stationed themselves at the bridge, and two at the ford, and waited the coming of the slaves. The party at the bridge had not waited long, when the slaves, two men and a woman, made their appearance, escorted by a white man and boy, as guides. As soon as they were fairly within the bridge, which is a covered one, the Kentuckians sprang upon them, and a desperate fight ensued. The negroes, it is said, were armed with guns, pistols, and knives, and defended themselves bravely. The particulars of the affray, however, are not yet definitely known, but the result was that one of the negroes was captured, after being severely wounded, and the other two, with their white companions, made good their escape.—*New York Tribune.*

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 1st, 1853.

THE PORTUGUESE SLAVE-TRADE.

In our October number we introduced an extract from a Liverpool newspaper, (the *Albion*, of 18th July last,) referring to the slave-trade at Mozambique. We had already received, from a private source, information bearing upon the same subject, and the facts of the case are quite substantiated by the evidence that was elicited by the late Parliamentary Committee on the Slave-trade Treaties, moved for by Mr. Hume. There appears to be no doubt that this infamous traffic in human beings is being vigorously prosecuted with the direct connivance of the Portuguese local authorities, if not so flagrantly with that of the Home Government at Lisbon. We append, from the *Daily News* of the 29th ultimo, a letter to the editor from a correspondent at Lisbon, dated 19th of the same month, which will be found to contain some strange revelations, and will further corroborate the statements that have been already made on the subject.

"I have had occasion more than once to mention the existence of the slave-trade in Mozambique, and being cognisant of all the efforts to carry it on, it is but a public duty to lay the facts before the British public. An English paper lately mentioned that 'a vessel was expected in the Tagus whose intrepid but slave-dealing owner had safely landed a cargo of slaves at Cuba.' This 'intrepid' man, whose name I enclose, did arrive, and such has been his success in slave-dealing, that he is reputed worth 400 contos upwards (£100,000), all of which he obtained in that traffic. His slave-dealing exploits extend over a period of ten years, and are of a description to furnish ample matter to a writer of romances founded on fact. He has made sixteen voyages to Mozambique, but principally to the River Bango, which is a little to the north of Sofala, and whence slaves can be exported in the very teeth of the British cruisers. The Rio Sena has also been the scene of his exploits. The demoralisation is of such a nature and extent that, for want of means, the Government could neither repress the traffic (if they desired it, which I am now persuaded they do not), nor pay the necessary troops. The slave-dealer goes there in two characters: the first is as a contrabandista, with an immense cargo of goods, upon part of which he pays a duty, the rest he smuggles by connivance of the authorities; these goods are then put into exchange for slaves; now commences his character of dealer, and having had his manacles, &c., conveyed to the spot, proceeds to his shipment. C— has embarked more than 8,000 slaves for the markets of Brazil and Cuba, where the authorities have also facilitated the landing, for the bribes offered them,

or rather previously stipulated, while the way in which the exportation has been done is by the governor giving an order 'to let pass,' the dealer paying his 'ox' (boi), as the bribe is called in Mozambique. This 'ox' is shared by all parties, from the Government to the lowest authority, a vessel of war going round regularly to collect this novel species of private revenue. C—, at the end of last year, loaded a vessel with slaves (the brig Camâche). He had gone to Quilimare with goods, thence he went to the Rio de Sena, and took on board 650 slaves, which he safely landed by connivance of the authorities. I believe it was on this occasion that he was pursued by a Brazilian steamer. Knowing the coast, he ran her among rocks and shoals; the steamer was lost, but C— gained his point, landed his cargo, and sent his vessel to the bottom. He offered a Portuguese captain a large sum to take him away, but the captain refusing, the master of an American took him to Boston for the handsome sum of two contos of reis (near £450), no small sum for an innocent passenger to pay. Of this transaction the Brazilian Government got notice from one of the authorities, who, not having been paid his 'portion,' denounced the affair. The buyers were prosecuted, and many of the slaves liberated; but C— is walking proudly along the streets of Lisbon, one of the largest proprietors of Bank Stock, and unprosecuted by the Government, although the facts could be brought home to him as clear as the noonday sun. It appears, among the numerous adventures of this man, that he was watched by a British cruiser, the cruiser's boat was upset on the bar of the river (I think the Sena); C— saved them, and going on board the man-of-war, asked the commander for a certificate, which the latter gladly gave him, remarking that it would only save him should he require to make use of it legally; but to be on his guard, as he knew what his employment was, and he was on the look-out for him, and therefore he would caution him. C— laughed at the advice, embarked his slaves, and when he had done so he took the captain and some of the officers to the spot, told them he had 'done them,' and showed them the footmarks of the victims on the sand, from whence he had successfully embarked his cargo, which he as safely landed in Cuba. Now the Governor of Mozambique, whom the slave-dealers delight to honour, and who himself delights in his post, is Senor Joaquim Pinto de Magalhaens; this man, however, is about to be removed, and, perhaps, it may be expected that I should congratulate the friends of humanity upon the event; on the contrary, I most deeply deplore it; because it will hinder, if not definitely prevent, a Company taking the whole province from the Government on lease, to colonise, explore, and cultivate it, emancipating the existing slaves and introducing free labour. To carry this into effect I have given the Government credit as having it seriously at heart, but I fear I am deceived. It is an undoubted fact, that when the Government have any favourite whom they desire to serve or to enrich, they appoint him governor of Angola or Mozambique, giving him a *carte blanche*, as it were, to use his authority in any way most consonant with his own wishes. The new governor of Mozambique is a youth of the name of Vasco Guedes, of a noble

family in the north. He joined the Patulcas (the Junta do Porto) as a volunteer in 1846, and was promoted to an ensigny, but his military career temporarily terminated with their downfall. When, however, Saldanha went out, in 1851, on his regenerating scheme (but which has only been a question of private interest), he (Saldanha), finding he could not get into Oporto, took refuge and was concealed in the house of the father of this young governor, while Ximenes (Viscount de Pinheiros, just gone as governar to Angola) and Fonte Nova, the son of the general of that name, were engaging the troops in Oporto in Saldanha's nick-named 'Regeneration,' the youth in question acting as emissary between Saldanha, in his concealment, and his friends in Oporto. Their plans having been successful, Saldanha, perhaps for the first time in his life, performed an act of gratitude, though not of justice, for he promoted the youth from a revolutionary ensign to that of captain, instanter, and, these revolutionary acts being purged, he is now promoted to a majority, and goes to Mozambique. He is very young, notoriously without experience, and consequently highly unfit to govern that province; besides, his education is very limited. His efforts, therefore, it is evident, will not be called into action to check the demoralisation of that fine province, but slave-dealing will increase; for the more frequent the 'ox' is given the shorter will be his stay there; and it is very remarkable, and worth the consideration of the House of Commons, that this youth should go to Mozambique, and Ximenes to Angola, about the same time."

WEST INDIA INTELLIGENCE.

SUMMARY.

JAMAICA.—The non-arrival of Governor Barkly has prevented any change in the aspect of island affairs, since our last summary. An address to be presented to him has been prepared, and addresses of a eulogistic character have been presented to Sir Charles Grey.

BRITISH GUIANA.—The planters are sanguine in their anticipations of the coming crop. Yellow fever has made its appearance, and singled out as its victims the Portuguese, more especially than any other class. One of the worst features in such a visitation is the want of medical aid. Multitudes are, in the nature of things, left a prey to the virulence of the epidemic.

Great dissatisfaction is expressed at the non-arrival of the long-expected vessels with Chinese immigrants. The delay is supposed to arise from the determination of the authorities to put an end to the crimping system. It is thought that this may interfere with a regular accession of Chinese labourers to the colony. The *Royal Gazette* laments over this failure to obtain immigrants from one source and another, especially as all that can well be done in the shape of taxing the Creole has been effected, in order to render the means of his subsistence so difficult as to

force him to labour on the plantation. It matters not, apparently, to the *Gazette* how much soever the Creole is advancing in all the constituents of a healthy civilization, if, at the same time, it is not connected with labour on the sugar estate. This feeling is not confined to Guiana. We are glad to know, notwithstanding all that is alleged about squatting and idleness, that the most indubitable evidence is afforded of substantial advancement on the part of the Creole. We lately mentioned with pleasure the successful attempt which had been made by an American to cultivate rice, but even this is now opposed, because it brings an article, entitled to rank as one of the prime necessities of life, too near to the door of the small holder and cultivator. The *Colonist*, referring to the manner in which the Creole is taxed, remarks—

"The eyes of the Creole population are now open to this injustice; and of this our legislators may be certain, that sooner or later a fearful reaction will come, and well were it for all, that we take, now we have time, the means of counteracting it. The first element of governing the masses is to deal justly."

A memorial has been got up by the leading men of the colony, praying that the present Lieutenant-governor may be appointed Governor.

BARBADOES.—We learn from the columns of the *Liberal* that a practice has been in operation on several of the estates throughout the island, and is now fast extending itself, of imposing double rent upon the labourers, unless they bind themselves to work, at a stipulated wage, a certain number of days in each week in the fields of the estates on which they may happen to be located. This double rent is exacted not alone in respect of the principal member of the family, but in the event of wife or daughter, or any other inmate, not working the required number of days.

"This arrangement," remarks the *Liberal*, "is characterised by gross injustice. It carries upon the face of it coercion, so plainly written that they who run might read. 'Tis, in fact, an element of slavery. But readers at a distance, to appreciate it as a measure of that character, must understand, that, by a comparatively recent enactment of the Legislature, any labourer located on an estate, and having a growing crop on his *rented* land, who may have cause of dissatisfaction, and is willing to leave, by the act of leaving loses all right to his crop of whatever nature. Most of our readers at a distance are aware of the nature of our crops. The sugar-cane is the principal plant cultivated by the labourers in their little holdings, as well as by the proprietors themselves; and when the means and labour necessary for establishing a young crop of this nature are considered, in connexion with the very limited capital of the day-labourer on an estate, it may easily be imagined how powerful as a measure of coercion that is calculated to be, which exhibits to the

labourer the alternative of paying double rent or moving away and losing his crop. Several cases heard at the Court of Appeal show how this engine is worked on many of the estates; and if there is one thing more than another calculated to aggravate its character, it is the circumstance of its being beyond the reach of any law existing on the statute-book. The labourers, therefore, with their strong, insurmountable prejudices in favour of cultivating a piece of land, are placed entirely at the mercy of their employers, bound hand and foot."

A kind of threat is held out, if this course is persisted in, that an emigration will take place to less populated islands. Whilst we should not be displeased to see a portion of the over-population of Barbadoes removing to other islands, we hope that a spirit of forbearance will be exercised, which shall have the effect not only of retaining the labour but the good-will of the peasantry.

TRINIDAD.—*The Port of Spain Gazette* contains the annexed communication from the Chairman of the West India Committee to the first Lord of the Treasury :

"We observe that the following remonstrance has been addressed to the First Lord of the Admiralty, by Mr. Macgregor, on behalf of the West India Committee, with respect to the contemplated supply of Bahia and Para cocoa to the Navy, in lieu of cocoa from the British Colonies."

"West India Committee Rooms, Old Jewry, London, June 15th, 1853.

"Sir,—I have the honour, on behalf of the West India Committee, to draw your attention to an advertisement by the Victualling Board, inviting tenders for the supply of cocoa for the use of the Navy.

"You will observe that the Commissioners confine their notice to the cocoa imported from Bahia and Para, in Brazil—thus preferring the produce of slave-labour, and even excluding cocoa produced either in the British Colonies or other free countries.

"When slave-labour cocoa was first included in the tenders for the use of the Navy, the West India Colonies conceived they had a right to complain that they should be placed on the same footing as the Brazilians carrying on the slave-trade. But they hardly expected that inconsistency would be carried so far as to exclude the produce of the British Colonies, and to compel the seamen of Her Majesty's ships to consume, exclusively, cocoa cultivated by the slaves who have been carried into Brazil in defiance of treaties, and the endeavours of these same ships to liberate them.

"The Committee are not aware whether the same rule is to be applied to sugar and rum, and the supply of these articles for the Navy to be restricted to the produce of Brazil and Cuba. But as the Committee cannot believe that the proceeding of the Commissioners has received your sanction, they think it right to bring the subject under your consideration.

"I have, &c.,
(Signed) "A. MACGREGOR.
"The Rt. Hon. Sir James R. G. Graham,
Bart., M.P., &c., &c."

GRENADE.—The *Free Press* mentions that some of the African emigrants imported into the Colony, had successfully cultivated the rice plant on their limited holdings. The grains are as large as those of the Carolina rice usually imported, and beautifully white. The article, it appears, has been grown exclusively on the mountain land; but in view of the fact that in most rice-growing countries, low and marshy lands are preferred, it is recommended that experiments be made, on a larger scale, in similarly situated positions. As an article of general consumption, adds our contemporary, "we believe it is preferred to many of the heavier and grosser products of the soil. We would therefore recommend the extensive cultivation of this excellent article of daily consumption, of which more than two thousand bushels are annually imported into this island."

ST. LUCIA.—The Legislature has passed an ordinance for raising a loan for the introduction of immigrant labourers. An offer has been made to convey cargoes of not less than 300, at £12 10s. per head. An additional export duty on sugar, rum and molasses is to afford the expense. The *Palladium* properly remarks, that—

"Immigration, to be beneficial, must lessen the cost of production; but so far from this being the case, the cost is raised by a direct export duty. The amount of the proposed loan is £15,000, for which not more than 1,000 immigrants can be introduced; and when land and water transport, together with local expenses, are taken into consideration, this would make an average of £15 for each immigrant; to which must be added the amount of interest at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum. The average yearly sum, which a Creole agricultural labourer receives under the present state of things, does not exceed £10, or at the most £12; hence, under the provision of the proposed ordinance, which extends the time of service of each immigrant to the period of five years (for a longer time cannot be counted on), the planter pays annually at least three months' labour which he has not actually received. The only chance which he has therefore left, to counterbalance the evils arising from the unsound policy of raising the cost of production, is to augment the quantity of staple produce to such an extent as to enable the profits of the extra quantity to meet the gratuitous expenses incurred. Whether this can be effected, we are not in a position to say; we only wish both planter and legislator to act warily, on a matter of such vital importance."

OUR ADDRESS TO CHURCHES.

We resume our record of the responses we have received to our *Address to Churches* on the subject of American Slavery. We hope to conclude the list in our next number.

Resolution passed by the *Lewin's Mead Unitarian Congregation*, Bristol.

"The Committee of the *British and Foreign*

Anti-Slavery Society having directed the attention of this congregation to the fact of the extensive support directly and indirectly afforded by the churches of America to the institution of Slavery, and suggested that they should urge the *Unitarian Association*, at the approaching Anniversary Meeting, to remonstrate in its corporate capacity with our American brethren, and to entreat them to use their influence to eradicate the baneful system,—

"It was proposed by Rev. Geo. Armstrong, seconded by Rev. William James, and resolved unanimously—

"That a solemn sense of duty impels this meeting to call upon the Committee of the *British and Foreign Unitarian Association* to adopt the earliest and most efficient means of making known to our brethren of a like faith in the United States our deep anxiety, that they may vindicate the honour of our common denomination by a firm, emphatic, and sustained protest against the grievous infraction of the Christian code, and thereby of the Christian faith, by the iniquitous and antichristian institution of slavery in their land.

"That this meeting earnestly hopes that at a period like the present, when the sorrowful and sympathising feelings of the community have been drawn to the subject of American slavery, and when so many voices of remonstrance and entreaty are being sent from other Christian sects in this country to their corresponding denominations in the United States, it will not be the reproach of the Unitarians of England that their Central Association is silent on the most fearful sin that now exists, and which is held in life: the faithlessness of the Unitarian, in common with the great body of professedly Christian churches in America.

"Proposed by J. B. Estlin, Esq., seconded by Rev. Edwin Chapman, and resolved unanimously,—

"That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* for their impressive address, with the sincere desire that it may induce the religious societies of Great Britain to discharge their duty to our suffering brethren in bonds, thereby strengthening the hands of the American Abolitionists, vindicating the religion of Christ, and, under the blessing of God, hastening the day of Universal Emancipation."

The Address of the Congregational Church meeting for worship in Zoar Chapel, Stroud, in the County of Kent, England, to their fellow-prophets of the United States of America:—

"Dear Brethren,—We trust that you will not demand at our hands any lengthened apology for addressing you on the subject of slavery and of slaveholding. You and we recognise the duty which obliges a Christian brother sometimes to *offer*, or to *suffer*, the word of exhortation.

"We desire that we may feel and say nothing that is inconsistent with Christian charity; but we are much impressed with the conviction that slaveholding is a sin in the sight of God, and, as such, ought to be condemned by the church, and abandoned by every believer. We believe, that if the church would wash its hands entirely of all participation in the sin, it could not continue to disgrace and afflict the civilized world.

"We disclaim all idea of dictation, but would earnestly entreat you, brethren, to apply to this question the Divine test, '*Whosoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them*,' and in accordance with the dictates of this heaven-born principle, to give to the suffering descendants of Africa the benefit of its merciful suggestions, and never to cease the iteration of your protest until the coloured race shall enjoy every right and every privilege which you claim for yourselves.

"Signed by CHAS. DYCEAR GAWLER, Pastor, and eighty-one of the congregation."

At an Association of the Ministers and Messengers of Forty-six Churches in the counties of Bristol, Gloucester, Somerset, and Wilts, held in Bristol, on May 18th and 19th, 1853, the following resolutions on the subject of American slavery were agreed to, unanimously:—

"That the ministers and messengers thus associated bear their renewed united testimony against slaveholding in the United States, as a great crime in the sight of God; and that they hold in abhorrence all attempts which are made to defend or palliate so enormous an evil, by arguments drawn from the Old or New Testament.

"That they avow their painful, but firm conviction, that American churches are deeply involved in the guilt of slavery; since the want of faithful energetic measures on their part is the main cause of its continuance. They are, in fact, its great bulwark.

"That they learn with the deepest sorrow that the slaves belonging to Baptists in America amount to more than 200,000.

"They rejoice, however, to feel assured, that many of our churches are not only free from this pollution, but are bearing a manly and solemn protest against it. With them they cordially sympathise, heartily wishing them success in the name of the Lord, and earnestly praying that they may be guided and supported by the Spirit of God, in the arduous struggle which they are maintaining.

"That they honour the principle carried out by Christian communities and associations in America, that deem it their duty not to receive as members those who hold in bondage their fellow-men, and even their acknowledged brethren in Christ; keeping, by force, in the degraded condition of goods and chattels, those who are equally with themselves the Lord's free men, for whose redemption He paid the price of His precious blood.

"That while they deem it only common justice not to doubt the Christian character of some who, from the peculiar circumstances in which they are placed, retain their slaves against their will; and admitting, as they ought, in all candour, that there are good men who still view this subject in a false light, yet would they urge on ministers and churches in America seriously to reflect, that they cannot free themselves from the charge of giving their sanction to this great evil, while slaveholding is not treated by them as a bar to Christian fellowship.

"That persuaded, as they are, that it ought to be so treated, and considering it imperative on

them to resolve to act up to this conviction, in any case which calls for decision on their part; they, at the same time, beseech all Christian professors in America—especially those of their own denomination—to rouse themselves to a due sense of their responsibility; to avail themselves, with earnestness and fidelity, of the strong feelings of sympathy for the oppressed negro and coloured race, which have of late been excited in the public mind in England and America, as affording them the opportunity to put forth, effectually, that mighty moral influence which, if resolutely exerted, cannot fail to give a fatal blow to this system—and to listen to the warnings addressed to them on all sides, that if they shrink from performing this incumbent duty, on them must rest the guilt of perpetuating this great sin, and the voice of their brother's blood will continue to rise up to heaven against them.

"That a copy, signed by the Moderator, be forwarded, by the Secretary, to the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, to be disposed of by the committee of that Society as they may see fit, with a recommendation that they obtain their insertion in the American papers.

"NATHANIEL HAYCROFT, *Moderator.*"

ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

Pursuant to the circular issued by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, convening a meeting of anti-slavery friends in Edinburgh (on the occasion of the late Peace Conference), for the purpose of eliciting their opinion on the desirability of holding an Anti-slavery Convention in London next year, a considerable number of well-known friends of the cause, including several members of the *Edinburgh Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society*, met on Friday morning, October 14th, in the large Committee-room of the Music Hall. Amongst others present were the following: Messrs. Crook, M.P., J. Bell, M.P., Joseph Sturge, T. Thomasson, W. Smeal, W. Miller, J. B. Smithies, Wm. Ball, R. H. Haggie, John Wigham, Henry Wigham, Henry King, E. Cruikshank, Ronald Wright, Wm. Lillie, Joseph Sharples, F. Hills, jun., John Hills, Jos. Taylor, J. Dunlop, F. W. Chesson, and the Reverends Henry Richard, G. W. Conder, J. Ballantyne, J. L. Aikman, Francis Bishop, and Wm. Stokes.

Mr. Wm. Miller having been unanimously voted into the chair, called upon L. A. Chamerovzow, the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, to state the objects of the Conference.

Mr. Chamerovzow said: It would no doubt be yet fresh in the recollection of many persons present, that at the close of the last Anti-Slavery Convention, in 1843, and in conformity with the precedent of the Convention of 1840, a resolution had been passed empowering the "Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* to call another

Convention, similar in character and objects to the present, whenever, in their judgment, the cause would be promoted by it." Although since that period the Committee had vigorously prosecuted their labours, and several highly interesting circumstances, bearing immediately upon the advancement of the great cause they were advocating, had presented themselves, it had not appeared to the Committee that any particular crisis had arrived when a Convention could, in their estimation, be called with advantage. Quite recently, however, the dormant anti-slavery energies of the community had been suddenly aroused by the production of a work, now of world-wide celebrity; he need scarcely add, that he alluded to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; and the excitement that wonderful production had occasioned, had been greatly increased by the visit to Great Britain of its gifted authoress, Mrs. H. B. Stowe. No doubt, much of the success of that marvellous production was due to the labours of Abolitionists of this country and America, who had prepared the public mind for the reception, in a new form, of those startling facts which they had been instrumental in eliciting, and scattering broad-cast over the world. But Mrs. Stowe had done a great work, notwithstanding, for she had been the means of infusing into the hearts of all classes a desire to do something to put down slavery; and that was to be regarded as a wholesome feeling, for it could not but lead to practical results, if it were only taken advantage of. He would observe in relation to the service which Mrs. Stowe had rendered, that in past times the anti-slavery cause had already been largely indebted to a woman for arousing public attention to the vital point of the whole anti-slavery question, namely: that slavery is a sin and a crime before God, and therefore it is as much the duty of the master to give freedom to his slaves, as it is the right of the slaves to possess it. He thought the names of Elizabeth Heyrick and Harriet Beecher Stowe ought therefore to go together, and on such occasions as the present should be mentioned in association; the one for what she had done in times past; the other for what she had effected more recently. The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* desired to take advantage of the feeling which had been awakened, and of the general desire to do something which undoubtedly existed, and it had occurred to them that if a Convention were called, some practical suggestions might probably be submitted, which, if carried vigorously into effect, would have an immediate bearing on the solution of the question. The Committee had their own suggestions to make, at the fitting moment, and they would no doubt receive favourable attention. The object of the Conference, however, was less to consider suggestions of

this nature, than to come to a determination on a specific point, namely: whether, under existing circumstances, it was desirable to hold a Convention in London sometime next year. He ought not to omit stating that the Committee did not desire to be bound by any resolution that might emanate from this Conference. If the opinion of the majority should be in favour of a Convention, it would no doubt be a great encouragement for the Committee to proceed, but other parties would have to be consulted also. It was proposed, for instance, after taking the opinion of such friends as might be in attendance that day, to elicit that of other friends who had been prevented from coming to Edinburgh, but who might be at a Tythe-meeting which he understood was to be held in London on the 28th inst. If they should confirm such resolutions as this Conference might adopt, the Committee would feel yet more encouraged, and would then probably deem it their duty to consult what might be called the New Anti-slavery party: namely, that section of the aristocracy whose anti-slavery impulses had been not simply re-awakened, but in many instances actually created by Mrs. Stowe's work, and who, after doing her homage for the service she had rendered to the cause, could scarcely, for very consistency's sake, refuse to co-operate in promoting it by aiding a demonstration intended to lead to a practical result. Not that very much was to be expected from this quarter, he feared, in the shape of pecuniary aid; still, as not less importance was attached in America than in this country to the influence and weight of noble names and titled co-adjudicators, this was a section not to be neglected; and possibly even substantial proofs of sympathy might be derived from it. In a word, the Committee were entirely in the hands of the friends of the cause. They were simply carrying out the resolution passed at the last Convention in taking the opinion of those who had co-operated with them hitherto, and it would readily be understood that in a matter of so much importance, involving an enormous amount of labour, great sacrifice of time and personal convenience, and no inconsiderable outlay of funds, the Committee were desirous not to incur all the responsibility of convening so large an assemblage as would doubtless be gathered together on so momentous a question, and at so critical a period. Before resuming his seat he would submit a list of those friends who had returned replies to the circular issued by the Committee, which had been also printed in the last number of the *Anti-slavery Reporter*. He might observe that they were all in the affirmative, and a considerable number of the respondents earnestly recommended that in the event of its being determined to call a Convention, it should be on a basis of the

most catholic character. He might add, that in this general view the Committee concurred.

Mr. Chamerovzow then read a list of the respondents above referred to.

Joseph Sturge, Esq., said he was requested by his friend Samuel Bowly, of Gloucester, to say that he fully intended to be present, but he had been called home by a telegraphic message. With respect to the Convention, he must say that he had not greatly encouraged the idea of holding one, for a heavy responsibility must necessarily rest somewhere, and he did not feel that he was able to take the active part in such a Convention that it had been his privilege and his pleasure to take in the two former ones: so that, unless there were a likelihood of younger men coming in to take the chief burden of the day, it would be almost better not to have a Convention at all. He might say as much for others not present, but whose feelings he was acquainted with. Still, if the Convention should be called, those who had worked before would, no doubt, not shrink from doing their part.

John Wigham, Esq., asked the Secretary to give the Conference a brief outline of the views of the Committee, as to what practical measures might be adopted for the accomplishment of the Society's objects.

Mr. Chamerovzow said that the Committee had their attention directed to two subjects: the first was that of the position of the American churches on the question of slavery, and the second was the growth of cotton in India. With regard to the first, he need scarcely dwell upon the well-known short-comings of the great bulk of the religious denominations in America, with relation to a system which was not only a crying disgrace to a land that boasted more of its freedom than of any other thing, but which was bringing its Christianity into disrepute. The opinions of the most eminent abolitionists, of the most distinguished statesmen, of the most celebrated divines of America, were unanimous in enunciating, that if the American churches were to be only true to their mission and faithful to the precepts of the Gospel they professed to teach, and take a bold and uncompromising stand against the slavery in their midst, the system must fall before the powerful voice they would raise against its continuance. The Committee, therefore, deeply impressed with the importance of diffusing information on this branch of the subject, and of evoking an expression of opinion on the part of the various religious denominations of Great Britain, contemplated taking action in this direction; and they would do this irrespective of the holding of a Convention, though such a Convention might, by endorsing their course, greatly strengthen their hands, and give weight to their appeals. With reference to the second subject, it might be considered strictly a commercial agency, as the previous

one might be regarded in the light of a moral one. It would not be denied that commerce had, in the origin, given rise to slavery and the slave-trade, and it seemed only natural, and, in some respects, an act of retributive justice, that it should now arise in its might, and destroy the monster it had been instrumental in calling into existence. It was asked by those who were desirous of overthrowing slavery, what they should do? Some thought that an abstention from consuming the products of slave-labour, and an imposition of differential duties in favour of the products of free-labour, would accomplish the downfall of slavery. The principle they urged was, that those who consume slave-labour products are to this extent upholding the system, and that to be consistent in their advocacy of immediate abolition, they ought at least to come into the struggle with clean hands. So with regard to differential duties, it was urged, that the products of slave labour assimilated in character to that of stolen goods, inasmuch as the labour of the slave is certainly stolen from him: therefore, morally speaking, these products ought not to be admitted into our markets on the same terms as those which are raised by free labour. But the fact was, it then became, not a question of a difference of impost, but one of absolute prohibition; and as the day of prohibitory duties had gone by, and the question of differential duties had been abandoned by the Protectionist party, the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, who had advocated these duties on high moral grounds, felt that there was very little hope of any Government's coming forward upon those grounds, and imposing duties in favour of free-labour products. Thus there only remained voluntary action in respect to an abstention from consuming slave-labour products, on the part of such persons as felt as he (Mr. Chamerovzow) and some others did, that such abstention is an act of conscience. Now, looking at the probable result of such a course, he must say that, notwithstanding his own convictions as to its being a right one, hard experience had taught him that the majority could not be expected to fall into it at a sacrifice. He might say, that the Committee, as a body, felt this, and therefore they were anxious to give a practical direction to anti-slavery effort, for the purpose of developing the natural resources of the countries over which Great Britain exercised a control, and which were capable of producing the staple which might be regarded as the main prop of slavery, namely, cotton. India and Africa were the native soils of this interesting plant, and the Committee believed that no course of public action they could undertake would be productive of such immediate and so much real advantage to the anti-slavery cause, or would so soon affect

the question of slavery, as a vigorous agitation of the growth of free-labour cotton in India. It must be borne in mind that if, as a body, the slaveholders are callous to moral sentiment on the question of emancipation, it is because they apprehend ruin from yielding to strictly moral impulses. Unless, therefore, something more be done than promoting an agitation on moral and religious grounds, they will remain unmoved, and the slaves in bondage. Let them but see, however, that Abolitionists in England—the country that consumes four-fifths of the cotton grown by slaves—mean to procure cotton from India, which they know could soon supply more than we at present require, and they would take the alarm, and of their own accord probably set about devising a plan by which they could send us cotton untainted by slavery. The agitation of the question of India Reform, then, by Abolitionists in Great Britain, with the especial object of inducing the introduction of such ameliorations in the India Government as shall lead to an augmentation of the supplies of cotton from that noble peninsula, was really one of the most practical questions to which they could direct their attention. At least, this was the view taken by the Committee. Nor ought omission to be made of the procuring of free-labour cotton from other parts. Large quantities could be got in America, and almost fabulous quantities might be had for the mere trouble of gathering it, in various localities on the West Coast of Africa, where it grows wild. Several bales had been already brought into our markets, and it had fetched a good price though uncleansed. The importation of free-labour cotton from India and other places had engaged the attention of the *Manchester Chamber of Commerce*, and was likely now to be mooted in earnest by the anti-slavery party. As a most practical anti-slavery instrumentality it was the duty of the Abolitionists to support a movement in this direction, and the Committee looked with confidence to them for encouragement to proceed. He might add, that when abundance of free-labour cotton came into the market, there would be abundance of free-labour cotton fabrics manufactured, and no lack of buyers; and the proposed mode of procuring this supply might be regarded as the only sound method of solving the free-labour question. These were the two principal points which had engaged the Committee's attention, though they had also addressed themselves to others. With these, however, he would not trouble the Conference.

John Wigham, Esq., expressed his approval of the practical views of the Committee, and hoped they would lose no time in carrying them out. He thought a Convention would be very desirable, and would cordially support a resolution in favour of one.

The Reverend J. Ballantyne believed that if anything practical were likely to result from a Convention, it would be desirable to hold one. The connexion of the American Churches with the system of slavery ought to be exposed, and he would suggest that a deputation should be sent to the United States to ascertain their real position, and to what extent they are in fact implicated.

Henry Wigham, Esq., was of opinion that unless the platform of the proposed Convention were constituted on a basis sufficiently broad to embrace all Abolitionists, it would not be wise to hold a Convention at all.

William Ball, Esq., considered that in relation to the Church question, a Conference of English and Scotch ministers might be productive of good, previously to the holding of a Convention.

The Chairman was anxious to say, that considering the causes of dissension which had unfortunately split up the Abolitionists of Great Britain and America into parties, he did not feel sanguine of the success of a Convention, unless some common ground of co-operation could be agreed upon by all. Without this, more harm to the cause than good would be done. He had no doubt the Committee had well considered this point, and in the event of a Convention's being held, would endeavour to harmonize differing elements. He thought it quite worth consideration whether, instead of a Convention, a Conference of the anti-slavery friends of Great Britain might not be held next year, with a view to adopt concerted action on common grounds of union. If successful, as no doubt it would be, a Convention the following year would not fail to be productive of great advantage to the cause. Should it be found, on the contrary, that there exist irreconcilable differences of opinion on vital points, involving principles of anti-slavery action, then it would be by far the wisest course to relinquish the idea of holding a Convention at all.

T. B. Smithies, Esq., quite concurred in the view taken by the Chairman. He had himself had very extended opportunities of ascertaining to what an extent anti-slavery effort in this country had been paralyzed and diverted from its one object by the miserable bickerings of those who ought to be united. He did not think the difficulties of framing a catholic platform were insuperable. At any rate the effort was worth making, and if made, he had no doubt it would be successful.

The Reverend Henry Richard said, that although he had not taken any active part in the anti-slavery struggle, yet as he had had some experience in getting up Conferences and Conventions during the progress of their great Peace movement, he might perhaps be permitted to make a suggestion. There was a decided advantage in concentrating effort. It was a principle adopted by Napoleon in his

system of war, to bring a large mass of troops to bear on one point, and they might borrow a leaf from his book, in prosecuting the peace and the anti-slavery movements. He thought, then, that a Convention was desirable, and he would suggest that it should be held in Paris next year, when the French National Exhibition of Industry would take place, and when it was more than likely there would be held in that city another Peace Congress. Both these circumstances, but especially the former one, would attract to the metropolis of France multitudes of the most eminent men from all parts of the world, and the opportunity would be a very favourable one for eliciting their opinions on the question of slavery. With reference to the differences which had been referred to, they were greatly to be lamented, and much weakened the efforts of Abolitionists. If a Convention were held, there could be no question of the wisdom of the policy of establishing it on the broadest basis, and he had no doubt his friends of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* anxiously desired the co-operation of all, and to co-operate with all.

Mr. Sturge corrected the last speaker with respect to the period of the Paris Exhibition of Industry, which was to be held in 1855, and not next year. He concurred in most of the observations that had been made, and in the suggestion for a Conference instead of a Convention, and thought there were many obvious reasons why the former would be preferable under the circumstances that had been alluded to.

The Rev. F. Bishop believed that it was scarcely possible to over-estimate the importance of energetic action on the part of English Abolitionists, and the influence it exercised, by reflex, upon the public mind in America. He had visited the Southern States, and could bear testimony to the truth of the iniquities and atrocities attributed to the "peculiar institution," and to the moral effect which a bold expression of sentiment on the part of the Abolitionists of Great Britain produced on all classes of the community, but especially on the slaveocracy. He rejoiced to hear that the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* contemplated taking the field on two such practical points as those which the Secretary had alluded to. Of these two he attached most importance to that which related to the religious denominations. Nothing would tend so much to bring the American churches to a sense of the monstrous dereliction of duty of which they are guilty, in either upholding the system of slavery or refraining from taking their stand against it, as the united remonstrances of the several religious bodies in connexion with them, in this country: and he would add, that if the American churches could be once thoroughly aroused to a sense of their duty,

it was in their power to put slavery under the ban, and to exterminate it from the land. None but those who had travelled in the South could conceive to what extent slavery contaminated the ministers of religion, and deadened their moral feelings. He had himself, after witnessing some scenes in Virginia County, too shocking to decency to narrate, met with a clergyman at a book-stall, with whom he had entered into conversation on the question of slavery, and to whom, after referring to what he had seen, he had put this question: "How can you, as a Christian minister, be silent, when these enormities are being perpetrated?" The clergyman replied: "Why, if I were to speak out, I should have no church!" This was only one illustration out of many that could be given of the demoralizing effect of the system upon those whose mission it was to rebuke iniquity, and to teach the highest morality. No wonder that when the church proved so false to its holy trust, men were found to repudiate a religion, the professors of which taught and maintained that it sanctioned a system which had been truly designated as "the sum of all villanies." With reference to the unhappy causes of difference between Abolitionists, he trusted that the latter were coming to understand one another better. If, however, they were ever to co-operate, there must be a truce to mutual recrimination, but above all, a cessation from calumny. As long as mutual slanders were spread abroad by professed Abolitionists, union and strength in the British anti-slavery ranks would be impossible. But that union he hoped to see, and he thought he could discern signs of a brighter time. He cordially approved of the idea of a Conference in preference to a Convention.

The Rev. G. W. Conder was very decidedly of opinion that the only true and sound basis of anti-slavery action was a cordial understanding, on the part of Abolitionists, that no other subject but anti-slavery should be advocated on their platform. Sectarian dissensions ought not to be imported into the anti-slavery question, which stood on its own elevated ground, high above such differences. These, originally unworthy of notice in themselves, had become serious obstacles to the success of Abolitionists; but they must cease to be such in future. He concurred in the suggestion for a Conference next year.

Mr. Chamerovzow said, that at this stage of the proceedings he thought it his duty to state that the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* desired nothing more ardently than to gather up the elements of strength that were lying scattered throughout the land, and only wanted welding together into a solid body, like the old Roman phalanx, and brought to bear with full force upon the opponent they had

to overthrow. Differences of opinion on particular subjects, and possibly on modes of action, would always exist; but without any compromise of principle on either side, the Committee were of opinion a common ground of co-operation could be found, on which all parties might meet, and harmoniously prosecute their great object.

The Chairman then read the copy of a resolution, which it was proposed to submit to the Conference for adoption, and which he thought would be found to meet the views of all parties.

The Rev. Wm. Stokes begged leave to suggest, before the resolution was put, or any decided course determined upon, that there should be a meeting of the various anti-slavery friends, for the express purpose of agreeing amongst themselves how existing differences might be reconciled. A Conference or a Convention might then be held, with perfect unanimity of opinion and cordiality of feeling. Of the two, he thought a Convention preferable.

John Dunlop, Esq., thought the resolution which the Chairman had read, so completely embodied the views of the Conference, and of the last speaker, that they might at once put it to the vote. The proposition for a Conference, instead of a Convention, had his cordial concurrence; and he trusted that the result would be a perfect accord on the part of those who were prosecuting the anti-slavery enterprise. As one who had been delegated to the previous Conventions, and who had held the honorary office in conjunction with his friend Mr. Cruickshank, who was also present, of Secretary to the *Edinburgh Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, he had experienced to what a grievous extent anti-slavery effort had been marred by the dissensions of Abolitionists amongst themselves. Mutual concessions, and an interchange of sentiment, without reference to past causes of difference, would go far towards bringing about their cordial co-operation, on what had been called a catholic platform. He should be very happy to contribute to the consummation of so desirable a result, and looked to the proceedings of this Conference as an augury of future harmony.

The Secretary having been requested to read the resolution a second time, and a few verbal alterations having been suggested and adopted, it was finally moved by John Dunlop, Esq., and seconded by the Rev. J. Ballantyne. It was as follows:

"This meeting encourages the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* to call in London, at some convenient time in the forthcoming year, a Conference of the anti-slavery friends of Great Britain, with a view to consider what united action should be adopted to promote the abolition of slavery."

The resolution was then put, and carried unanimously, and the meeting separated.

SUBSEQUENT PROCEEDINGS.

On Monday morning, the 17th ult., a special meeting of the friends interested in the Abolition of Slavery in all parts of the world, was held in the Committee Room of the Peace Conference, Hunter Square, Edinburgh, to receive L. A. Chamerovzow, the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and to consider the case of John Brown, a fugitive from slavery, who is now engaged in giving lectures in this country.

John Wigham, Esq., having been voted into the chair, explained briefly the objects of the meeting, and called upon L. A. Chamerovzow, to submit to the friends present, a statement of the case of John Brown, and an outline of the intended course of action of the London Society.

L. A. Chamerovzow stated that John Brown, now present, is about thirty-five years of age, and until within the last six years had been a slave in Georgia, and other States of the South. After undergoing the vicissitudes common to those held in bondage, and after much suffering, he had accomplished his escape to the Northern States, in a manner as surprising as it was interesting, owing to the hair-breadth escapes he had had. During his bondage he had acquired the trade of a carpenter, and some considerable knowledge of smithing. He was, however, more particularly acquainted with the cultivation of cotton in all its branches, from the preparation of the ground for the seed, until the plant had arrived at maturity; and with the picking, jinning, and packing of it into bales. He could construct machines for cleansing the staple, and, though wholly without education, was perfectly competent to undertake the supervision of a cotton plantation. On the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law, he had passed over the frontier into Canada, and after working with the Cornish miners, under Captain Teague, had left for England, to meet the latter in Cornwall. On his arrival he found that his patron had died, but being furnished with excellent testimonials, he had found friends who had recommended him to make his case known, with a view to induce them to promote the views he had in coming to England, namely, to induce the friends of the anti-slavery cause to assist him in getting out to the West Coast of Africa, for the purpose of commencing the cultivation of free-labour cotton there, on a paying scale. John Brown believes, that being possessed of sound health, and great bodily strength, he ought to go out to Africa, to set an example to the fugitives who repair to Canada, and who, he says, ought to turn their attention to the

cultivation of cotton in Africa, as a means of helping their brethren in chains, by sending to England a supply of the staple grown by free labour, which is now chiefly produced by slaves in the United States.

Mr. Chamerovzow proceeded to state that he had had unlooked for opportunities of testing John Brown's veracity, and ascertaining his perfect acquaintance with the qualities of cotton. He felt interested in him, because he saw that he was desirous of helping himself; and he (Mr. Chamerovzow) was anxious to place him in a position to accomplish the laudable object he had in view. If a small fund could be raised, sufficient to provide John Brown with a passage to Sierra Leone, or any other part of the African coast under British jurisdiction, with tools and implements, and with rations for a twelvemonth, he thought no difficulty would be experienced in procuring him a grant of land, or a plot might be hired for him to cultivate in cotton, which he might send home. Or, he might be employed, under proper supervision, as an agent to collect the cotton that grows wild on the coast and in various localities, and to instruct the natives how to cultivate and cleanse it. But these were matters of detail, and could afterwards be regulated. He might state that since John Brown had been in this country, he had supported himself by giving lectures on his life and adventures, as illustrative of the system of slavery, and also on total abstinence. He was in all respects a worthy and industrious man, and deserving of encouragement.

Mr. Chamerovzow then proceeded to give an outline of the proposed operations of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, as he had done at the Conference on the previous Friday, and expressed the pleasure it afforded him to meet with so many friends of the cause, and especially with the Committee of the *Ladies' Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society*, who were so earnestly co-operating in the great work of humanity. With such zealous coadjutors success was certain.

After a few observations from the Rev. Dr. Ritchie and the Rev. J. Ballantyne, the following resolution was put from the chair, and carried unanimously:—

"This meeting cordially approves of the proposed public action of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, in relation to the diffusing of information on the position of the American churches on the question of slavery, and to the growth of cotton in India, as a means of augmenting the supply of that article for the English market, and of thus undermining the value of the slave-grown staple. Having also heard the statement made by the Secretary of the Society of the case of John Brown, this meeting respectfully solicits the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* to give his case their consideration, with a view to determine whether the plan submitted to the

meeting by L. A. Chamerovzow can be carried out. If their opinion should be favourable, and John Brown's testimonials satisfactory, they recommend that a special subscription be set on foot, to carry the plan into effect; believing that the only sound way of abolishing slavery is to undermine the value of its products, by bringing into competition with it those of free labour from whatever quarter."

Previously to the breaking up of the meeting a very interesting letter was read from Mrs. H. B. Stowe, dated from Andover, 23rd September ultimo, and announcing her safe arrival. It was addressed to the *Dublin Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society*, and stated that she had found "the beloved circle in better health than" she had reason to expect, her sick daughter being nearly recovered. The letter not being intended for publication, we are precluded from doing more than briefly adverting to it. We may state, however, that it refers to the rapidity with which the immigrant Irish become contaminated with pro-slavery sentiments, and urges the importance of spreading anti-slavery information throughout Ireland, but "especially among expecting emigrants," as "a thing touching the cause vitally." Mrs. Stowe also observes, that though she had, at the time of writing, been home only a week, and had had but little opportunity of inquiring into the state of the cause, yet she had learnt from the best authorities, in and out of the Senate, "that the English demonstrations had done good," and that on this point "there is but one opinion."

The reading of this letter elicited great applause, and excited much interest.

MEETING IN MANCHESTER.

Another meeting of anti-slavery friends was held in Manchester on Tuesday evening, the 18th ult., at the Friends' Meeting House, pursuant to an invitation issued by the acting Committee of the *Manchester Anti-Slavery Union*, and which was attended by L. A. Chamerovzow, as a deputation from the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*.

Amongst the gentlemen present were the Reverends Dr. Beard, W. Whitelegge, G. Robinson, M. Parks, A. Weston, and F. Hemming, from the United States: and Messrs. N. Card, W. Howe, C. Thompson, F. W. Chesson, &c. There were also present many ladies connected with local anti-slavery associations.

The Reverend Dr. Beard, having been unanimously voted into the chair, stated that he believed it had been originally intended to convene a mass meeting of anti-slavery friends, for the purpose of inaugurating a vigorous movement in Manchester, for the promotion of the abolition of slavery. In deference, however, to the wishes of the Secretary of the London Society, who had been communicated with on the subject, it had been thought

preferable to call a private meeting of the friends of the cause, with a view to concert measures for a powerful demonstration, and to confer together on the best means of uniting into a body the various small anti-slavery associations in their city, which indeed scarcely deserved the name of associations at all, so much were they disunited. The *Manchester Anti-Slavery Union* had been formed with this object, and he believed the business of the meeting would be to consider whether that *Union* might not with advantage to the cause attach itself to the Parent Society, as an auxiliary, retaining, however, a certain right to take independent action on particular subjects, as occasion might seem to warrant. He begged to introduce the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*.

Mr. Chamerovzow said that it would have afforded him much pleasure to yield to the wishes of the Manchester friends to hold a mass meeting on the anti-slavery question, but there was sometimes wisdom in resisting the solicitations of friends. His principal motive for desiring to confer with them—privately as it were—before holding a public meeting, was with a view to their coming to some common understanding as to the object of such a meeting, and the basis on which their proposed movement should be established. To hold a meeting in Manchester, simply to raise an outcry against slavery, he considered next to useless. Probably, not ten persons could be found in Lancashire who were in favour of slavery; and taking this for granted, they had no converts to make through the medium of a public agitation, which, if undertaken at all, must have a definite object. If, however, in Lancashire there could be found no advocates of slavery, tens of thousands would be found to be advocates of cheap cotton. It was scarcely a figure of speech to say that the three million three hundred thousand slaves of the Southern States of the American Union are held in chains of cotton. England alone had been computed to consume upwards of four-fifths of the whole quantity of this staple produce of the United States. Cotton, then, might be regarded as the main-prop of American slavery, and what the anti-slavery friends of Manchester had to consider was, whether they could not procure supplies of free-labour cotton from other quarters, and thus render themselves to a certain extent independent of the American slaveholders. Now, a public meeting held to call attention to the importance of opening new sources for the supply of this important commodity would be of so practical a character that it could not fail to recommend itself to the attention of all parties; and some such course he begged to recommend. In relation to this subject the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery*

Society had directed their attention to the question of India Reform, as a means of introducing such ameliorations in the Government of India, as should lead to a rapid development of the natural resources of that empire, and an augmented supply of free-labour cotton from the same region. They thought this to be one of the most practical instrumentalities for putting an end to slavery; for if the value of the slave-grown commodity could be reduced by the honest competition with it of the free-grown article from India or elsewhere, slavery must infallibly be starved to death ere many years. To accomplish this object, it would be necessary to agitate the country from end to end, because there were powerful influences at work to prevent India Reform, and unless public opinion declared itself uncompromisingly in its favour, no progress would be made. As soon, therefore, as the friends in Manchester were prepared to take this movement in hand as an anti-slavery instrumentality, the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* would be also prepared to take action, and send a deputation to attend a public meeting.

Mr. Chamerovzow next referred to the position of the American churches on the question of slavery, suggesting the diffusion of information on this subject, amongst the religious denominations in Great Britain especially, as another important branch of effort, and stating that the Committee contemplated taking it in hand as one of the most effective means of acting, through them, upon the religious bodies in America, and inducing them to take their stand against the system. He believed that this course of action, embracing these two very practical points, would be favourably received by all the anti-slavery friends throughout the country, and secure not only their co-operation, but that of other influential parties, who had hitherto stood aloof from the London Society.

Mr. Chamerovzow next read the principles, constitution, and objects of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, commenting upon them as he proceeded.

A gentleman in the body of the meeting doubted whether the clause relating to "fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour products" would be favourably received in these free-trade times, especially in Manchester, and suggested the propriety of discarding it. He knew that the Society had lost much support and many friends in consequence of the course they had taken on the sugar-duties, and he hoped that the Committee would see the wisdom of revising this clause, with a view of striking out the particular paragraph he had referred to.

Mr. Chamerovzow said that it was not in the power of a Committee to alter the constitution of a Society. Their duty was to

carry out its objects according to its constitution. The Committee were, however, quite aware of the difficulty which the clause in question had raised in the minds of some earnest British Abolitionists, and that it had tended to prevent them from cordially co-operating with the Society.

A lengthened conversation on this point having taken place, the Secretary was requested to bring the subject under the notice of the Committee.

L. A. Chamerovzow then stated, that as the meeting was in full possession now of the objects and views of the London Society, and of its proposed outline of public action, it would be for it to consider whether it was desirable for the *Manchester Anti-Slavery Union* to become an auxiliary to that Society, or to prosecute its labours independently.

This question having been discussed at some length, Mr. C. Thompson finally proposed the following resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Robinson, supported by the Rev. Mr. Parks, and carried with one dissentient.

"That this meeting, having heard read the principles and constitution of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and the remarks made thereupon by Mr. L. A. Chamerovzow, the Society's Secretary, desires to express its concurrence with the same; and recommends that the *Manchester Anti-Slavery Union* do become an Auxiliary to that Society."

Mr. N. Card then proposed, and the Rev. Mr. Whitelegge seconded the subjoined resolution, which was carried as before:

"Mr. Chamerovzow having given an outline of operations contemplated by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and embracing the following points; namely, 1st, The securing of a reform in the Government of India as a means of promoting the cultivation of free-labour cotton in that country; and, 2ndly, The calling of public attention, but especially that of the various religious denominations in Great Britain, to the position of the American churches on the question of slavery, in order to evoke, on the part of the former, a moral testimony against the short-comings of their co-religionists in the United States with regard to this enormous iniquity; this meeting desires to express its cordial approval of this specific course of action, and resolves to promote the success of the same by every means in its power."

The Rev. Mr. Parks then moved, and the Rev. Mr. Weston seconded the following resolution, which having been spoken to by Mr. N. Card and the Rev. F. Hemming, was carried in the affirmative:

"This meeting recommends that a public

meeting for the inauguration of the *Manchester Anti-Slavery Union*, auxiliary to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, be held in Manchester as speedily as convenient, and that the carrying out of this resolution be left to the local Committee, and to that of the London Society."

A vote of thanks to the Chairman having been proposed by Mr. Chamerovzow, and duly seconded, was put and carried unanimously, and the meeting separated.

TRIBUTE TO MRS. STOWE.

A letter has been received from Mrs. H. B. Stowe, by Joseph Sturge, Esq., which, though not for publication *in extenso*, states, in allusion to the appropriation of the *Tribute*, that among other objects to which she purposes to apply it are the following:

1st. To labour by gratuitous circulation of anti-slavery literature, particularly in the South, to hasten to maturity the movements set in operation by *Uncle Tom* and the *Key*.

2ndly. To aid the efforts of the *free* coloured people to help themselves in the way of schools, newspapers, &c.

We are sorry to learn that the *Tribute* still falls materially short of the sum (£2,000) which the Committee desired to raise. As they are anxious to close the *Tribute* without delay, they hope the friends of the cause will immediately forward to the Committee in Birmingham, or to the Treasurer, Geo. Wm. Alexander, Esq., any sums they may have in hand, or any additional subscriptions they may procure from their friends.

THE very cheap series of Anti-Slavery Tracts which we have before announced, consisting of eighty-two varieties, are now completed, illustrated with stereotype wood-cuts.

Whilst the above Half Million Tracts have been printing, the number has been found to be quite inadequate to the requirements of the Anti-Slavery public. Another Half Million is therefore now in the press.

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